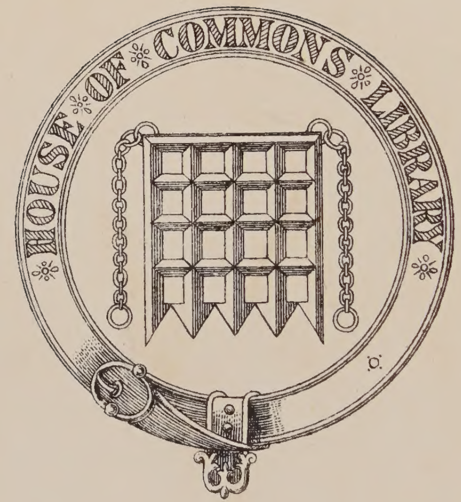

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STUDIES IN THE MAKING OF CITIZENS

CATALOGU

GREAT BRITAIN
A STUDY OF CIVIC LOYALTY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO
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GREAT BRITAIN

A STUDY OF CIVIC LOYALTY

By JOHN MERRIMAN GAUS

The University of Wisconsin

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Civics

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To
MY FATHER AND MOTHER

EDITOR'S PREFACE

This study of civic education is one of a series of similar analyses of a variety of states. Broadly speaking, the common purpose of these inquiries has been that of examining objectively the systems of civic education in a group of states, of determining the broad trends of civic training in these modern nations, and of indicating possibilities in the further development and control of civic education. In two of these cases, Italy and Russia, striking experiments are now being made in the organization of new types of civic loyalty. Germany, England, the United States, and France present instances of powerful modern states and the development of types of civic cohesion. Switzerland and Austria-Hungary are employed as examples of the difficulty experienced in reconciling a central political allegiance with divergent and conflicting racial and religious elements.

The series includes volumes on the following subjects:

Soviet Russia, by Professor Samuel N. Harper, Professor of Russian Language and Institutions in the University of Chicago.

Great Britain, by Professor John M. Gaus, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin.

Austria-Hungary, by Professor Oscar Jaszi, formerly of Budapest University, now Professor of Political Science in Oberlin College.

The United States, by Professor Carl Brinkmann, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Heidelberg.

Italy, by Professor Herbert W. Schneider, Professor of Philosophy in Columbia University, and Shepherd B. Clough.

Germany, by Mr. Paul Kosok, New York City.

Switzerland, by Professor Robert C. Brooks, Professor of Political Science in Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

France, by Professor Carleton J. H. Hayes, Professor of History in Columbia University. (This is a part of the Columbia University series of "Studies in Post-War France" and is included here because of its intimate relation to the other volumes in the series.)

Civic Attitudes in American Textbooks, by Dr. Bessie L. Pierce, Professor of History in the State University of Iowa.

Induction into Citizenship, by Dr. Elizabeth Weber, Professor of Political Science, Hunter College, New York City.

Comparative Civic Education, by Professor Charles E. Merriam, Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago.

Wide latitude has been given and taken by the individual collaborators in this study, with the understanding, however, (1) that as a minimum there would be included in each volume an examination of the social bases of political cohesion and (2) that the various mechanisms of civic education would be adequately discussed. There is inevitably a wide variation in point of view, method of approach, and in execution of the project as investigators differ widely in aptitude, experience, and environment.

Of the various investigations the questions may be asked: What part do the social groupings play in the spirit of the state? What is the attitude of the economic groups which for this purpose may be considered under certain large heads, as the attitude of the business element, of the agricultural group, or of labor? What is the relation of the racial groups toward the political group whose solidarity is in question? Do they tend to integrate or disintegrate the state? What is the position of the religious factors in the given society, the Catholic, the Protestant, the Jewish? How are they concerned in loyalty toward the political unit? What is the place of the regional groupings in the political unit? Do they develop special tendencies alone or in company with other types of groupings already mentioned? What is the relation of these competing loyalties to each other?

It cannot be assumed that any of these groups have a special attraction or aversion toward government in general; and the analysis is not conducted with any view of establishing a uniformity of interest or attachment in any type of group, but rather of indicating the social composition of the existing political units and authorities. It may well be questioned whether there is any abstract loyalty, political or otherwise. These political loyalties are determined by concrete interests, modified by survivals that no longer fit the case and by aspirations not yet realized. The cohesion is a resultant of conflicting forces, or a balance of existing counterweights, a factor of the situation. All these factors may change and the balance may be the same, or one may change slightly and the whole balance may be overthrown. It is the integration of interests that counts, not the special form or character of any one of them.

Among the various approaches to civic education which it is hoped to analyze are the schools, the rôle of governmental services and officials, the place of the political parties, and the function of special patriotic organizations; or, from another point of view, the use of traditions in building up civic cohesion, the place of political symbolism, the relation of language, literature, and the press to civic education, the position occupied by locality in the construction of a political loyalty; and, finally, it is hoped that an effective analysis may be made of competing group loyalties rivaling the state either within or without.

In these groups there is much overlapping. It would be possible to apply any one or all of the last-named categories to any or all of the first. Thus the formal school system may and does utilize language and literature, or symbolism, or love of locality, or make use of important traditions. Symbolism and traditions may and do overlap—in fact, *must* if they are to serve their purpose; while love of locality and language may be and are interwoven most intimately.

Intricate and difficult of comprehension as some of these patterns are, they lie at the basis of power; and control systems, however crude, must constantly be employed and invented to deal with these situations. The device may be as simple as an ancient symbol or as complicated as a formal system of school training, but in one form or other these cohesive devices are constantly maintained.

In the various states examined, these devices will be traced and compared. The result will by no means attain the dignity of exact measurement but will supply a rough tracing of outlines of types and patterns in different cities. It is hoped, however, that these outlines will be sufficiently clear to set forth some of the main situations arising in the process of political control and to raise important questions regarding the further development of civic education.

It may be suggested that the process by which political cohesion is produced must always be considered with reference to other loyalties toward other groups in the same society. Many of the devices here described are common to a number of competing groups and can be more clearly seen in their relation to each other, working in co-operation or competition, as the situation may be. The attitude of the ecclesiastical group or the economic group, or the racial or cultural group, or any of them, profoundly influences the nature and effect of the state's attempt to solidify political loyalty; and the picture is complete only when all the concurrent or relevant factors are envisaged.

These devices are not always consciously employed although they are spoken of here as if they were. It often happens that these instrumentalities are used without the conscious plan of anyone in authority. In this sense it might be better to say that these techniques are found rather than willed. At any rate, they exist and are operating.

These eight or nine techniques are only rough schedules or classifications of broad types of cohesive influences. They are not presented as accurate analyses of the psychology of learning or teaching the cohesive process of political adherence. They presuppose an analysis of objectives which has not been made, and they presuppose an orderly study of the means of applying objectives; and this also has not been worked out in any of the states under consideration.

Professor Gaus's analysis is based upon a study of English conditions in 1925 and 1926. The material diligently collected at that time has been carefully scrutinized and organized, with a view to setting forth the salient features in the British system of developing political interest, allegiance, cohesion. This is admittedly a far more difficult task than in Russia, where the system of civic education is consciously developed and openly acknowledged. The British system, if such it may be called, rests upon quite different bases, with far less attention to the formal mechanics of civic education, and requires a different method of approach. Professor Gaus has endeavored to discover and portray the patterns of political cohesion and how they are produced, consciously or unconsciously. It may be said that these patterns are not produced at all but merely happen or are. In any case, Professor Gaus studies the patterns and processes as they are, or as he sees them.

Charles E. Merriam

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This study is based chiefly upon materials gathered by my wife and myself in Great Britain during the summer and autumn of 1925, supplemented by studies of newspapers and journals, memoirs, monographs, and other writings cited in the text. In our inquiries of innumerable organizations and individuals we were most courteously received, and supplied with many reports and documents of which use has been made.

I have focused attention upon the channels through which the interest of the citizen mingles with the larger currents of civic life. It has been necessary in consequence to neglect, on the one hand, any considerable treatment of the historical development of institutions; and on the other, any intensive description of contemporary movements and leaders, although I have attempted to build my argument upon some acquaintance with both. I feel the more reconciled to these limitations because, since undertaking this study, two books have appeared in which these aspects of civic life have been discussed. In André Siegfried's *Post War Britain*, which appeared early enough for me to draw upon the acute observations of the author, is a survey of contemporary economic and political problems and tendencies. In Ernest Barker's *National Character*, which I have had an opportunity to read only upon the completion of my own study, an appraisal of contemporary civic attitudes is enriched by a more extensive historical treatment. Those who may find some interest in my own discussion will do well to supplement it with the two books which I mention here.

It would be invidious to select for special mention here the many persons and organizations from whom generous aid has been secured in the preparation of this study. But I would record my obligation to two persons. It was through Professor Charles E. Merriam, of the Department of Political Science, of the University of Chicago, that I received the opportunity to undertake this work, and from him I have had the most generous and sympathetic criticism. During the period in which I was engaged upon the task, I was a member of the Department of Political Science, of the University of Minnesota. Those who knew Professor C. D. Allin, the late head of that department, will appreciate what kindly interest and wide knowledge and insight he placed unreservedly at the disposal of the members of his staff. It is too late, now, to present to him this work in print; but the memory of association with him, and of his unfailing kindliness and aid remain.

John M. Gaus

University of Wisconsin
Madison, 1928

A FOREWORD ON QUOTATIONS

It has seemed to me essential that in a study of British civic life, rich and varied as it is, reference should be made to many special studies in which different experiences and attitudes are summarized. Even more important is the direct quotation from innumerable observers who may consciously or unconsciously illustrate or indicate experiences and atmospheres which a foreign observer would not be attuned to receive or would be, perhaps, presumptuous to record upon his own initiative. I am, therefore, very much under obligation to many writers and publishers for permission to quote from the books listed below. Permission has been secured for these quotations from author, author's agent, British or American publisher, or from all of these. I take this opportunity to thank them formally for their courtesy in permitting me to use these all but indispensable materials.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE FOCUS OF BRITISH CIVIC LIFE

The most significant emotional factor in public life today is nationalism. . . . . Nationality rests upon cultural factors. . . . . A nationality is any group of persons who speak a common language, who cherish common historical traditions, and who constitute, or think they constitute, a distinct cultural society in which, among other factors, religion and politics may have played important though not necessarily continuous rôles.—CARLETON J. H. HAYES, *Essays on Nationalism.*

His astonishment grew as the full flood of "England" swept him on from thought to thought. He felt the triumphant helplessness of a lover. Grey, uneven little fields, and small, ancient hedges rushed before him, wild flowers, elms and beeches, gentleness, sedate houses of red brick, proudly unassuming, a countryside of rambling hills and friendly copses. He seemed to be raised high, looking down on a landscape compounded of the western view from the Cotswolds, and the Weald, and the highland in Wiltshire, and the Midlands seen from the hills above Prince's Risborough. And all this to the accompaniment of tunes heard long ago, an intolerable number of them being hymns.—RUPERT BROOKE, describing the emotions of a friend who had just been informed of the Declaration of War, August, 1914, *Letters from America.*

In the twentieth century, at least, men will fight better and harder for a community, endure more hardships on its behalf and more willingly accept its institutions, if they feel that they can, by concerting together, themselves direct its policy and themselves make the laws under which they have to work and live. And this consciousness of consent on the part of the inhabitants of a self-governing community, vital as it is for the successful fulfilment of the primitive functions of society, is even more necessary for success in the other and more complicated functions now entrusted to our political government.—SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB, *A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain.*

If anything on this planet be great, great things have happened in Westminster Hall: which is open for anyone, turning aside from London's traffic, to wander in and admire. Some property in the oak of its roof forbids the spider to spin there, and now that architects have defeated the worms in roof and beam and rafter it stands gaunt and clean as when William Rufus built it: and I dare to say that no four walls and a roof have ever enclosed such a succession of historical memories as do these, as no pavement—not even that lost one of the Roman Forum—

has been comparably trodden by the feet of grave men moving towards grave decisions, grand events.

The somewhat cold interior lays its chill on the imagination. A romantic mind can, like the spider, spin its cobwebs far more easily in the neighbouring Abbey, over the actual dust to which great men come—

"Here the bones of birth have cried—
'Though Gods they were, as men they died.'
Here are sands, ignoble things
Dropt from the ruin'd sides of kings."

But in the Abbey is *finis rerum,* and our contemplation there the common contemplation of mortality which, smoothing out place along with titles, degrees, and even deeds, levels the pyramids with the low mounds of a country churchyard and writes the same moral over Socrates as over our Unknown Soldier—*Vale, vale, nos te in ordine quo natura permittet sequamur.* In Westminster Hall (I am stressing this with a purpose) we walk heirs of events in actual play, shaping our destiny as citizens of no mean country; in this covered rood of ground have been compacted from time to time in set conflict the high passions by which men are exalted to make history. Here a king has been brought to trial, heard, and condemned to die; under these rafters have pleaded in turn Bacon, Algernon Sidney, Burke, Sheridan. Here the destinies of India were, after conflict, decided for two centuries. Through that great door broke the shout, taken up, reverberated by gun after gun down the river, announcing the acquittal of the Seven Bishops. . . . .

But, as men's minds are freakish, let me tell you of a solitary figure I see in Westminster Hall, more vividly even than the ghosts of Charles I and Warren Hastings bayed around by their accusers: the face and figure of a youth, not yet twenty-two, who has just bought a copy of the Magazine containing his first appearance as an author. "I walked down to Westminster Hall," he has recorded, "and turned into it for half an hour, because my eyes were so dimmed with joy and pride that they could not bear the street and were not fit to be seen there."—SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH, *Charles Dickens and Other Victorians.*

"Britons," remarks Mr. Philip Guedella, "never will be Slavs." This negative, if absolute, statement does not enlighten us much. We know, too, by earlier authority that Englishmen resist all inclinations to belong to other nations. Those who find a simple solution for the problem of explaining such attachments in innate characteristics, or the inborn tendencies, of race or nation must be perplexed at the medley of peoples who have contributed to the present population of Great Britain.[1] What common "stereotypes," in

Walter Lippman's phrase, does this population possess? Why may it be spoken of as British? What loyalties and attachments characterize its civic life, and to what symbols and appeals does it respond? And are there groups within that population who no longer share these feelings, who have achieved new patterns of thought and feeling, and possibly of overt action in the public life of the state? What, to one group, does "King and Country" mean when a Home Rule bill apparently challenges their cultural interests? Is another stirred in any really profound way to the challenge "Workers of the World, Unite?" Who is the Good Citizen: the member of the Society of Friends who has been active in many causes of social reform but who is detained in war time as a conscientious objector? Colonel Repington? Lord Northcliffe? Lord Banbury? A. J. Cook? Frank Hodges?

The literature of politics in Britain contains many a volume of speculations upon "the relation of the individual to the state." Ethical criteria of politics abound; comparisons between the British and the Roman empires, analyses of the duties and rights of the citizen of Periclean Athens are put beside the views of English divines or Scotch lawyers concerning moral and legal theories of the state. Perhaps it is unfortunate that some forty millions of Britons live their lives unaware of these aids. Those who would find out what the actual civic life of the citizens of Great Britain is must search in many places; but he may safely avoid most of the texts. When, too, he has gathered whatever he can obtain from document or interview, he will (if he is humble) remember that there remains that great number of citizens—two-thirds of the total population, perhaps—who, as in every modern state, demand only to be let alone. No moral urgency summons them to the clash of civic groups; no immediate or perceived interest brings them within the ambit of an organization, much less flings them upon the spears or the barricade. I have been told of a phrase which the Bolsheviks apply to a great number of Russian people who are similarly indifferent to politics and public life. They are called *obyvatel* ("mere inhabitants"). When you ride in the train on the embankment from which you look out over the endless slate roofs of a Manchester dormitory district; or through the cuts of a London inner suburb; or across the country of East Anglia or Devon or Northumberland or any other region and see the farmhouses and the villages, can you resist speculating about the people who live there? What their interests are? How they are caught up in the great directing and governing institutions and societies? A few years ago, a study was made in the city of Sheffield of "the equipment of the workers" for citizenship.[2] It was hoped that similar studies of other economic groups might be undertaken; and until these have been made, it is obviously unwise to generalize upon limited materials. Nevertheless the comment of the editor upon the class which was viewed as "inadequately equipped" (about three-quarters of the group studied) is pertinent.

> The married woman is usually at home, though often she will go out charring, etc.; the unmarried or widowed woman is at some not particularly skilled occupation. The homes in which the children of the Inadequately-equipped are being in their turn inadequately equipped vary from something pleasant and wholesome to something filthy and unsavoury; we do not like to talk about an "average" home, but if the reader likes to think of it, he may picture one that lies between these two extremes. The man in this class is in all probability a member of a trade union, but takes little interest in it and never turns up at meetings unless there is "something big on." The woman possibly trades at the cooperative store, but not because she is interested in the cooperative movement. The man can no doubt talk a bit about politics; when he has read all the news, he may read something of political matters in his evening or Sunday paper; but he is "not bothered wi' it." The woman is still less "bothered wi' it." It is our honest belief that neither the man nor—still more certainly—the woman can in any genuine sense of the word be called "fit to vote." The picture palace and the public-house rival one another as the favourite resort of the Inadequately-equipped males. Other modes of spending leisure adopted to varying degrees by the men of this class are gardening, walking, cycling, fishing, reading (mostly the papers), watching football matches, going to the music hall, and gambling. Their household work (prolonged by intervals of gossip) as a rule leaves the women with time for little amusement, beyond visiting the conveniently near public-house or its increasingly successful rival in their affections, the picture palace. Few of the members of this class have any connection with church or chapel.

The great section of the "mere inhabitants" crosses every economic and social class line. The novelist heightens and intensifies the characters which he describes and reveals; but one may hint at the question with which one is left, for example, by Mr. Bennett's *Riceyman's Steps* or *The Old Wives' Tale*, Mr. Swinnerton's *Nocturne*, Mr. Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers*, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's *The Delectable Duchy*, the Grossmiths' *Diary of a Nobody*, and even Mr. Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga.* Here are sensitive men, writers of imaginative power, trying to tell us about "average" people—that is, people who are not of exalted social position, or engaged in unusual or significant tasks. It is true that all of these authors, like Mr. Wells in his *Kipps* or *The History of Mr. Polly*, or George Brown in his *The House with the Green Shutters* deal with these members of the class of "mere inhabitants" in such a way that the drama of the ordinary life stands out boldly. But the question remains: Are not these lives remote from the currents of civic affairs? Even the Forsytes with their wealth hardly touch the fringe of such affairs until Fleur marries a young man from the older governing classes.

Indifferent as these great numbers may be to the ordinary issues and activities, among them and about them is a network of influences and institutions which supply the channels and patterns of civic life.[3] It is here that the groups of active citizens play their parts, and the range, the variety, and the importance of these require study. The growth of numerous institutions in Great Britain in which the interest of many citizens is integrated and through which conscious leadership is supplied has attracted the interest of foreign observers, notably Elie Halévy, André Siegfried, and A. L. Lowell. It is this wealth and variety of voluntary as well as legal associations which gives British civic life its characteristic appearance of unconsciousness which is sometimes misleading. The student of British politics must explore these many institutions and the group life which characterizes them in order to appraise the influences and behavior patterns which are really important. Attitudes and expressions which at first sight are "voluntary" and based upon rational premises are found to exude slowly and quietly from long association and the taking for granted of situations widely accepted.

One flings the net wide for these institutions and influences, even to the point of including a jumble of factors, since here one sees the active citizens giving direction and color through church and chapel, trade-union hall and the houses of companies, through Inns of Court or university quadrangle, cathedral close or rural village to the quieter flow of life of the masses of people. When one comes finally to the overt acts of state, one must focus even more sharply. Despite the vast morasses of indifference or the firmer ground of the acts of associations, one can descry the general slope of the region, the "lay of the land." So, despite the jumble and confusion of social groups in the midst of the apparently unpredictable inactive citizens, the state does act. A dry dock is built at Singapore. A scheme of social insurance gets adopted and applied. A treaty is signed or a war fought. An official makes a ruling which affects great numbers of citizens who must build differently or pay taxes on a form of income hitherto exempt. A decision of the court extends the authority of an official or permits a company to avoid some clause. Native rights are protected or invaded in Kenya, and those rights defined or extended at Westminster. A debate over phraseology among politicians gathered from the outlying empire is resolved in words which establish a new constitutional principle. It is, therefore, inevitable that we find a final focus of civic life in the governing society, granted that we appraise the interests and activities of the hosts of associations from which that class is recruited and which fix its bounds, and granted that we see enmeshed in that plexus the inactive millions of the "mere inhabitants" whose civic interest is roused seldom and fitfully.

The stage upon which the acts are played is not fixed. Within bounds, the fact of place, of geographic factors, limits and conditions the society which develops in an area. But that society may turn upon its creator and through invention modify its terms. Thus the British are so located that they were beyond the influence of the earlier Mediterranean civilizations, and even at a later time were but an outpost of the Roman Empire.[4] The channel marked a separation from Europe across which came fitful tides of invasion; and the effort to bind the islands politically to the mainland resulted finally in defeat. But a region which had been an outpost became, with the discovery and development of the Americas, "centrally located." Once separated from much of the activity of the Continent, Britain through her ports, her fleets, and her colonists became a colonizing and commercial power; and when the Continent was overrun by Napoleon's armies, relatively secure behind the Channel and her fleet she developed intensively her industrial powers before the other Western states could do so. Her climate is rendered moderate in winter by the prevailing winds which drive the warmer waters of the southwestern Atlantic toward the northeast, and in summer by her position well north. Rains and temperature supply the year 'round grazing which gave her both the wool for the woolsack and the roast beef of old England. The forests supplied charcoal for the earlier iron-working from the iron of her own mines; the vast deposits of coal made possible the later industry and have helped to fill her merchant ships when they are emptied of the cargoes they bring from the outer world. The extent of the great plain made a network of canals and railroads relatively easily acquired. Even the moisture contributes to the advantages of Lancashire as a textile center. What nature has supplied, the British have developed institutions to utilize, making a choice between an intensive industry, commerce, and finance and an agriculture which would supply only a smaller population. In the mountains of Wales, and beyond the moors and mountains of the north, the Welsh and Scotch maintained their separate cultures, eventually to be integrated politically with the English in the British state and to supply recruits to British institutions. Across a wider channel in Ireland the effort to include the Irish within the common system failed; and the appraisal of the forces which have produced the Irish nation must remain a separate study, albeit one full of illustrations for the story of the British system.

Upon this stage, gradually modified by new social and mechanical invention, the British have played and continue to play their rôle.

> The variety of races which constitute British nationality is astonishing. "Saxon, or Norman, or Dane are we," sang Tennyson: but the exigencies of time, space, and metre prevented him from giving an exhaustive list. We are also Scots, Irish, Welsh, German, French, Spaniards, and Italians—not to mention the lost Ten Tribes. From the days of Simon de Montfort downwards many of the most distinguished British patriots have not been British in race. Merely to recall names like Disraeli, Bentinck, Keppel, Romilly, Goschen, Vanbrugh, Panizzi, Rossetti, Rothschild indicates the debt we owe in the sphere of law and letters, politics, art, and finance, to men of alien race; and it is a well-known fact that nearly all great English musicians have been Germans, and most great English painters Dutch. . . . . We have had no kings of exclusively English race since the Battle of Hastings. The conquering Normans were succeeded by the Plantagenets who came from Anjou. The Tudors descended on England from the mountains of Wales, and the Stuarts from over the Tweed: and our last royal families come from Brunswick and Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Nationality then is something more and something less than race . . . . it is a mass of acquired characteristics, each of which has its definite and more or less ascertainable causes.[5]

These causes Professor Pollard discusses in the lectures from which I quote. The World War is in part responsible for the revival of interest in speculation concerning national characteristics, much of which has been subject to hurried revision as former enemies resume friendly relations, and causes and incidents of the war are resurveyed. Those who place their faith in explanations of national attitudes based upon racial factors have a difficult task in explaining the British—yet even that task has been attempted.[6] It would be time to explore this area when we have decided upon a satisfactory definition of race; and when that is done, what virtues and vices of the British are to be ascribed to each of the successive peoples—Britons (a conveniently obscure term) ; Romans ; Gauls ; Angles ; Danes ; Normans ; Flemings ; French Huguenots ; French émigrés of the Revolution ; Spanish and Portuguese Jews ; German, Russian, and Polish Jews ; and more recently the Australians, Canadians, and other returned "Colonials"—who have settled in Britain and have become a part of her institutions? It is undoubtedly wiser to follow Professor Pollard's suggestion, noting that within the institutional scheme a variety of peoples have come to live and form a new political society.

Modern scholarship selects the period of the Tudor kings as that in which the sense of nationality first reached its important expression. Lewis Einstein, in his *Tudor Ideals*,[7] relates this to the similar development during the Renaissance of nationalism in many continental countries. Professor Pollard has discussed this movement in the fourteenth century, which he calls the "first epoch of English nationalism," as a prelude to the later glories of Tudor and Elizabethan England.

> It has been called the "age of the commons": that is because it is the age of the nation. Its battles are fought with the national weapon, the long bow (since become the national weapon of the Americans): its wars are financed by the national wealth of the wool-trade: its armies are formed, not of feudal knights or foreign mercenaries, but by national and voluntary enlistment: and its navy begins at Sluys the national achievements at sea which roll on in triumph to Trafalgar. Political songs show a popular interest in public affairs, and popular feeling is voiced in the poems of Chaucer and Langland, in the tracts and translations of Wycliffe. The House of Commons emerges, and asserts its control over legislation, taxation, and administration. "What touches all must be approved of all" is the maxim: and although its application was partial, although the House of Commons is an aristocracy, Parliament

is at least more national than it had been before. The advent of the middle class has begun, and middle classes are more national than feudal barons; national consciousness has reached the heart, and fired the imagination of the burgess and the gentleman, though it may not have touched the stolid mind of the peasant. England has begun to differ from other countries, and different environment and institutions will produce different habits of mind, and eventually a different national character.[8]

The researches of Professor White have revealed to us the emergence of national political institutions which set off the English system from Continental feudalism; while Professor Tout has traced the early beginnings of a civil service.[9] Under the powerful and aggressive leadership at a later time of Henry VII and Henry VIII, the fact of an English nation stands out boldly. The different people who had come to dwell within the area, through the persistent pressure of the products of the soils, forests, and mines, and the influence of climate, through separation by the sea from other lands, had developed likeness in diet, architecture, and manners of life; government and law brought them within a common state, and ultimately the vernacular conquered the invading Latin and French, although not without much fusion and borrowing. In time the break with the Papacy becomes possible; later still, the Welsh and the Scotch become integrated, but not absorbed, into an institutional system to which they contribute in turn their recruits; and the common development of the outlying empire by these three nations now united in a single state, unaccompanied by suppression of local cultures by the predominant partner, in addition to the permeation of all the religious, economic, political, and educational associations and institutions by all three peoples, make it possible for us to speak today of the British nation. One factor deserves a special mention.

The Authorized Version, setting a seal on all, set a seal on our national style, thinking, and speaking. It has cadences homely and sublime, yet so harmonizes them that the voice is always one. Simple men—holy and humble men of heart like Isaac Walton or Bunyan—have their lips touched and speak to the homelier tune. Proud men, scholars,—Milton, Sir Thomas Browne—practice the rolling Latin sentence; but upon the rhythms of our Bible they, too, fall back. . . . . The Bible controls its enemy Gibbon as surely as it haunts the curious music of a light sentence of Thackeray's. It is in everything we see, hear, feel, because it is in us, in our blood. What madman, then, will say "Thus or thus far shalt thou go" to a prose thus invented and thus with its free rhythms, after three hundred years, working on the imagination of Englishmen?[10]

One may profitably speculate on the influence which has been exerted by the labors of the committee of forty-seven scholars of Oxford, Cambridge, and London who fixed a language and a style through the one book read by the most members of the nation, studied in homes before a national system of education had come into existence, heard in the churches Sundays, and introduced into the schools which the state established through the nineteenth century. May we not find here one cause of the ethical outlook on many questions which has characterized so much of the civic life of Britain?[11]

Land and people will not suffice to create a national state. Voluntary associations, customary ways of doing things, however important, ultimately find their political expression through the smaller focus of the governing class and the governmental structure. For centuries these institutions have been determinants in creating a national life in Britain. The Crown, the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the Courts, the Civil and Armed Services have been the channels through which the national interests have found ultimate statement. These institutions have been in unresting movement in their relations among themselves and with the Church of England. Now one, now another has served as the central point about which national interests have been focused. Together, their personnel has constituted a governing class, comprising with the leadership in finance, commerce, literature, and the arts, the influential society of the capital. About the fringe of this society are potential members, now gaining admission and now recruited afresh by those left out by social changes. What challenges are now being made against the contemporary powers in this society we shall have to inquire; since the different elements of it have been described by many observers, it is here necessary to indicate only the general integration of the parts in the national system through which the acts of state are finally registered.

It was through the institution of monarchy, and the person of specific monarchs, that the states of England, Wales, and Scotland combined to form a single state. Before this was realized it was through powerful kings that England itself found national expression politically. In Tudor times, notes Pollard:

> Nationalism was young, presumptuous and exigent; its passion had no patience with the foes to its desires, and its cruelty was only equalled by its vigour. The New Monarchy was the emblem and the focus of these forces; it had a great and an indispensable part to play in the making of modern England; it was strong, unprincipled, and efficient. But its greatest achievement was that its success made the repetition of such an experiment superfluous for the future. Order is Heaven's first law; on earth it must always go before liberty. England could not have done without the Tudors and all their works; for they gave us law and order.[12]

How far contemporary social upheavals in Russia and Italy, with their striking likenesses to the conditions which accompanied the decay of feudalism and the decline in the secular power of the church, equally warrant the dictatorships which they have achieved is an interesting query. In Britain we see the steady transfer of the area of monarchical discretion from the king to his advisors, and the limiting of the discretion of these new rulers, in turn, by permanent civil and armed services on the one hand and the parties upon the other. The King and the royal family, however, remain with an influence as subtle as it is undefined.

> The English polity was in the main a common-sense structure; but there was always a corner in it where common sense could not enter—where, somehow or other, the ordinary measurements were not applicable and the ordinary rules did not apply. So our ancestors had laid it down, giving scope, in their wisdom, to that mystical element which, as it seems, can never quite be eradicated from the affairs of men. Naturally it was in the Crown that the mysticism of the English polity was concentrated—the Crown, with its venerable antiquity, its sacred associations, its imposing spectacular array. But, for nearly two centuries, common sense had been predominant in the great building, and the little, inexplicable corner had attracted small attention. Then, with the rise of imperialism, there was a change. For imperialism is a faith as well as a business; as it grew, the mysticism in English public life grew with it; and simultaneously a new importance began to attach to the Crown. The need for a symbol—a symbol of England's might, of England's worth, of England's extraordinary and mysterious destiny—became felt more urgently than ever before. The Crown was that symbol: and the Crown rested upon the head of Victoria. Thus it happened that while by the end of the reign the power of the sovereign had appreciably diminished, the prestige of the sovereign had enormously grown.[13]

Thus today the British citizen has in his news, his illustrated weeklies, and his movies the opportunity to follow the travels of members of the royal family about the empire; funds for public purposes—charitable, recreational, and the like—are sponsored by royalty; and in critical times, when parties are evenly balanced and feelings run high, the personal intervention of the King may be as important as the social milieu in which he moves is decisive.

On a lower level the members of the peerage in their turn serve as symbols of popular success or as reminders of former greatness. Unlike some Continental systems of nobility, the British system has found room for an ebb and flow from the middle classes into the peerage; and the present House of Lords is a body largely recruited in the last hundred years and representative of each new section of power through the medium of a party system which must rest upon such realities. It is not alone the social prestige attaching to the peerage and to those who may associate with royalty which gives importance to the House of Lords, however, but also its remainder of judicial and legislative power; while the award of "Honours" by the Crown gives something of a national approval to the work of soldier, sailor, or civil servant which the connection of such favors with party service of some persons cannot wholly destroy.

But the center of power is in the Commons, and more particularly in the Ministry and the Cabinet.[14] Certain facts of structure and procedure should be noted because of their direct influence on civic life. The Cabinet system, in which the executive is a committee drawn from and responsible to the legislature, elevates the rôle of the party leaders who naturally seek places in the Commons. The remarks of the Prime Minister and his colleagues and of the leaders of the opposition take on significance when they serve to fix a policy for which they must be responsible. This feature, which Woodrow Wilson fixed upon in contrasting the British and American systems, lends greater importance both to debate and to public speaking by party leaders;[15] it necessarily creates a more responsible attitude on the part of political leaders; it dramatizes politics; and it lends greater significance to party struggles. Furthermore the lack of "constitutional" restraints upon Parliamentary action adds to this responsibility and widens the area of political action. Both factors strengthen those groups which seek social changes through parliamentary and evolutionary methods, since the way is open, through agitation and organization, to realize their program without frustration from judicial review and the irresponsible warfare of executive and legislative branches. Again, power is vested in a unitary system and concentrated at Westminster. In short the stakes of legislative power are rich; and even a minority, since it confronts the executive directly and debates as a possible alternative in office, possesses importance.

Some minor points may be noted. Since a member need not reside in the district in which he is elected, the power of the national party leaders to further the careers of those whom they believe most useful to the party is enhanced, and localism is weakened. Again, the fact that the Crown may dissolve Parliament at once strengthens the party leaders, makes for greater responsibility of the party for its program, and stimulates a continuous party activity in the constituencies, since an election may be fought at any time. All of these factors contribute toward the emphasis upon the political activity which so many foreign observers find characteristic of the British, and help to explain the constitutional and reformist rôle which the new Labour party has thus far maintained. British politics are important, since Parliament possesses great powers; the discussions of party leaders are important, since they reflect the power to put proposed policies into effect. We use these words, of course, in a relative sense; in contrasting the position, for example, of British ministers or opposition leaders with those who have a similar rôle in French, German, or American politics, where multi-party systems, separation of powers or other principles of structure or procedure are found. One result of this situation is that the popular view of the "individualism" of the British is somewhat misleading. The state has undertaken a vast array of tasks. One may almost say that in any strict sense laissez-faire never existed in Great Britain; for in addition to the administration of military and naval affairs, from Tudor times there has been state intervention in matters of regulation of wages and prices, of poor relief, roads and bridges and canals, and many other matters. The acquisition and development of an empire and the attempt to meet the challenges of the new society of the last century have enormously widened the area of state activity; and while on the one hand the citizen will explain to you with a certain pride the ignoring of the state and the latitude which exists in personal ways, on the other you will be apt to find him urging the state to extend its grant to adult educational enterprises or to take over an ancient house to prevent its disposal to dealers in old oak paneling. Employers may rail against the schemes of social insurance and utilize the services of the government in seeking markets overseas, or secure subventions for an industry.[16]

This has been responsible for and partly due to the British civil service.[17] That service is mostly filled with officials of permanent tenure chosen through competitive or qualifying examinations. Through the recruitment system and the method of classification, the higher service has been linked to the older universities and the governing classes. Similarly the officer class in the army and navy, partly through financial and partly through educational qualifications, is also integrated with the governing classes. There is much self-esteem in the standards maintained by and through these systems, and, in consequence, less reluctance to extend state activity which will be administered through these men. Out of these services has grown as well a national pride in certain famous soldiers, sailors, and proconsuls; while even among many commercial and industrial groups, there is often a respect for some of the upper-division officials upon whom the general direction of governmental policy usually rests.

Similarly the Courts hold a high place for the ability and integrity of the judges; and these individuals, in turn, through the universities and the Inns of Court are another section of the governing society which is so powerful. It must be remembered that those decisions which arouse the enmity of powerful groups may be circumvented by later Acts of Parliament; this possibility is a kind of safety valve through which there can escape public feeling which might otherwise be thwarted and sullen.

Another institution which we may consider as interconnected with if not a part of the national political system is the Church of England.[18] Granted that the disputes over religion have been among the disruptive forces in the national life, it remains true that the possession of a state church with its officials, its ritual, its close connection with education, local government and (through appointments and policy) the Crown, Parliament, and the Courts has contributed to the stimulation of national sentiment and the influencing of national attitudes. Somewhat paradoxically, the national church in England is not the national church in Scotland; and we understand the union of the two political communities better when we recall that the Presbyterian church in Scotland supplied the means for developing national sentiment much as Parliament did in England. Scotland has been left free to develop her cherished religious institutions; and indeed the king is titular head of both churches. The disestablishment of the Anglican church in Wales in recent years removed a grievance which remained as a constant spur to Welsh local nationalism, while the "non-conformist" churches there helped to preserve much of the Welsh culture through language and music. The extension of full toleration in Britain to Catholic and dissenting churches has gradually removed, save in part in the field of state education, causes of disruption within the nation; and the close association of certain outstanding leaders in these sects with party groups has brought them within the ambit of political power.

Thus there is an inner circle within the group of active citizens who control the policies of the innumerable voluntary associations, an inner circle which we may call the governing class. It has been associated with the life of two centers: London society, and the country house; and back of them and radiating out from them, the public school, the older universities, the country rectory and the cathedral close, the naval base and the Indian station. How far beyond these one must seek the sources from which this class is recruited, and from which, in future, the more considerable number will be drawn—the trade union and co-operative society meeting places, the chapel, and adult education classes—we must also consider. Certainly it is a striking characteristic of that class that it has been able, without too great strain, to absorb and assimilate successive additions from new sources of power and ability. In each generation it may appear so closed a circle as to be either entirely exclusive or doomed to violent destruction. But turn to the diaries and letters of observant persons who by position or family connections have been able to give us some glimpse of its life. Select, for example, the diaries or letters of Pepys, Horace Walpole, Creevey, Greville, Blunt, Repington, and Fitzroy. You can dip into the world of affairs as it is focused in London society throughout three hundred and fifty years through these pages, and you will find at any period the concentration of power and influence and social position about the relatively small group who occupy the important posts of the institutions discussed briefly above.

> The governing cliques can govern because they see one another daily; they are always calling on each other, or lunching, or dining, or attending receptions together; they have been at the same schools and colleges; they have shot together, hunted together, yachted together;

> they stay at the same country houses, when they leave the dozen or so of streets and squares in London in which they all live; and about half of them are more or less closely connected by the ties of blood and marriage. Of course, the outsider does get in . . . . ; but he has to be an outsider of unusual ability and force of character, and even then he does not, as a rule, win his chance till he has either married into the circle, or acquired sufficient wealth and social prestige to be assimilated by it.[19]

This is not a passage from Thackeray, but a description of the governing class of 1914; and those who think that the war has destroyed all this may be interested in a remark of Mr. Baldwin's, from a speech at Harrow School in recent years.

> When the call came to me to form a Government, one of my first thoughts was that it should be a government of which Harrow should not be ashamed. I remembered how in previous Governments there had been four or, perhaps, five Harrovians, and I determined to have six. I managed to make my six fit by keeping the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer for myself. . . . . I am very proud that it has fallen to my lot to be the next Prime Minister after Palmerston to come from Harrow.[20]

There is a section of the Labour party, too, which has been not a little restive at the number of the older governing class who have been received into high places in the party councils, and at the ease with which old trade-union leaders have become acclimated to the atmosphere of Court and drawing-room.

One is frequently warned against appraising national movements by what one observes in the national capital. Yet it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of London in the national life. Here are the great daily and weekly journals, many with vast circulations. Here is the center of interest in the arts and literature. In the clubs there mingle politicians, financiers, returned diplomats, colonial officials, journalists, scholars, and clergy. The great national societies have headquarters; and the historians of the Labour movement have regretted the lack of an adequate civil service and headquarters for that movement in London also.[21] Within short distance are the older universities and public schools. In the city is a world-center of finance and commerce. Amid these distractions, Parliament remains "the best club in Europe"; who would not covet a career in politics or the civil service in this center, and whose wife would not be even more desirous of it? From this center, too, the threads lead out to the country houses which are also factors in the maintenance of the traditions of the governing class.[22] In these circles, pictured frequently in the illustrated journals and reported by the society columns, the governing groups receive a final integration.[23]

Two influences of greatest importance surround those who possess power in the institutions here described as the focus of the life of the state. One of these is the constant reminder that beyond the island state is a wider empire, vastly greater in area and population than Britain; requiring not alone open lines of communication but also the most careful statesmanship; making every political development in other states in remote areas a situation of interest to Britain, since some portion of her empire will be near; and contributing a powerful sentiment of pride in the explorations, conquests, missionary enterprise, and government which have made that empire possible. The other is a religious sentiment which finds its most frequent expression in an ethical view of civic life. The sources of this sentiment, whether the Platonic philosophy of the universities or the Bible readings of the adult Sunday schools, are varied. Halévy[24] remarks:

> The religious bodies whose freedom was respected by the State were societies which, because they lacked the power of legal coercion, were obliged to direct their efforts to the establishment of a powerful moral authority alike over their own members and over society as a whole. And their efforts were successful. . . . . Not only did they encourage the growth in every sphere of a spirit of free association, and occasion directly or indirectly the mass of voluntary institutions both philanthropic and scientific so characteristic of modern England. They disturbed the torpor of the Government and even of the Established Church. They occupied themselves with the regulation of public morality, compelled the application of existing laws, revived laws which had fallen into abeyance, demanded new legislation. Uniting their influence with the influence of industrialism, they fashioned the character of the English middle class, dogmatic in morals, proud of its practical outlook, and sufficiently powerful to obtain respect for its views from the proletariat on the one hand, from the aristocracy on the other. The ruling classes watched the growth of this new power, whose nature they could not understand. . . . . They called to mind the French Revolution and the American War of Independence and feared "Methodism" almost equally with Jacobinism. Had they understood the situation better, they would have realised that Methodism was an antidote to Jacobinism, and that the free organization of the sects was the foundation of social order in England. "England is a free country"; this means at bottom that England is a country of voluntary obedience, of an organization freely initiated and freely accepted.

The representatives of these groups which M. Halévy so acutely describes for the early nineteenth century are now within the governing classes. Given the acceptance of the institutional system and its ideas, including the empire with its aura of extending civilization, a sentiment of righteousness often fixes the British citizen all the more strongly and passionately—and, perhaps, all the more unconsciously—in his citizenship. The citizen who is uncertain of the wisdom of the course of his state and of its institutions is apt to be more obstreperous in his patriotism; he whistles, or more accurately he harangues, to keep up his own courage. But if you can evolve an ethical justification for some aspect of your situation, your defense of it is not mere patriotism and your opponent is clearly immoral.

We turn, therefore, to an appraisal of the more important of those factors which influence the British citizen, which reach a final fruition in the acts of state through the channels here discussed. We find British civic attitudes to be not the product of race, since many races are mingled; conditioned by the limitations and opportunities of environment, yet capable of making inventions which affect that environment; not the product of conscious state control, yet finding ultimate expression in part through state action; exuding from a wealth of interests, classes, associations, societies, procedures, which have been guided in every successive generation by a governing class representative of the more powerful groups. Are we witnessing today, or will we soon witness, the crumbling of such a class? Do new challenges point the way to a revision of the British scheme, so far as it relates to the training of the citizen? An author has a certain privilege of leaving such matters to his concluding chapter, in the possibly vain hope that some may be induced, thereby, to read his book. Graham Wallas[25] says in commenting on the passage of Halévy's quoted above:

> A hundred years hence in estimating the intellectual forces of our own time, a future historian may have to search not so much in the records of the churches as among the obscure proceedings of working-class propagandist organizations, and to trace the relations of those proceedings to the conclusions of the twentieth-century biologists and psychologists, and of the historians and poets who in each generation undertake the ever fresh duty of interpreting the past.

NOTES

1. The literature on the subject of nationalism is generally subjective and speculative. There is a good bibliography in Carlton Hayes's *Essays on Nationalism*, and the essays themselves are perhaps the best general discussion of the subject which we have. I miss in the bibliography, however, Dr. H. M. Kallen's *Culture and Democracy in the United States*, which is full of suggestive comments on the subject. In Mr. Graham Wallas' *The Art of Thought* and *Our Social Heritage* there are several passages in which various aspects of British nationalism are discussed; and Dean Inge's *England* is a study which is often (unconsciously) revealing. There is a useful discussion of British nationalism in *Race and Nationality*, by John Oakesmith, London, 1919. (See the Preface to this volume.)

2. *The Equipment of the Workers*, London, 1919. "An inquiry by the St. Philip's Settlement Education and Economic Research Society into the adequacy of the adult manual workers for the discharge of their responsibilities as heads of households, producers and citizens." This is a very useful and interesting study; and it contains not only brief reports of the interviews and appraisals made in each home, but an account of the methods employed and interpretations of the data. It is the nearest approach to certain American settlement studies such as those of South End House, Boston, and the studies prepared by members of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago which exists in Great Britain, and possibly by the same token I found it strongly attacked by some social workers there. They stated that it was an improper invasion of the personal rights of the people interviewed to publish such data; and I think I could detect in their attitude also a dislike of the use of such descriptive methods instead of the customary speculation concerning social problems. I advise, however, a study of this volume. Of the sample group studied approximately one-quarter were classed as "well equipped," one-fifteenth as "malequipped," and the remainder "inadequately equipped."

3. I think the argument which Mr. Walter Lippman sets forth in his *Public Opinion* and *The Phantom Public* on this point is basically sound. He shows how the vast majority of people must of necessity act through small groups who manipulate opinion through "stereotypes" and "symbols."

4. There is a suggestive brief discussion of certain civic aspects of geographic factors in J. T. Fairgrieve's *Geography and World Power* in the chapter on "Britain." Dean Inge discusses the geographic factors also in his *England*. There is an interesting new movement in British historical scholarship to stress geographic factors more strongly. Professor Geddes and his work at the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh, the Sociological Society and LePlay House, the regional planners, and the historical school at the University of London have all contributed to this. See also A. DeMangeon's study of *The British Empire*.

5. A. F. Pollard, *Factors in Modern History*. This book is full of stimulating comments and suggestions concerning the development of the national state in Britain. In A. C. Haddon's *The Races of Europe* there is an excellent brief account of the various races which have been found in Britain. The best discussion of this factor is to be found in Oakesmith, *op. cit.*, especially chaps. i–v and vii–xiv.

6. Here is a specimen from Mr. R. N. Bradley's *Racial Origins of English Character*. "The relation of Nordic lord and Alpine follower has laid the foundation of our politics, history and national character. We have here the hunting, shooting squirearchy who ride straight and speak the truth, the foundation of our Conservative party, on the one hand, and, on the other, the trader and shopkeeper class who later develop dissent and Liberalism, the finest type being the Quaker. The element of disciplined social co-operation seems to have been en-

hanced in our Alpines by the Danish invasion, whence may come the tendency towards trades-unionism, although I myself doubt it, largely for the reason that these sturdy short-heads were able by force of character and by orderly living to raise themselves above the scope of trades-unionism before it came into force. . . . . Whereas the Alpines became dissenters, re-echoing the sentiments of prophets and reformers in Alpine lands, we are told that Methodism, a Church of England revival, appealed to the Nordic heath-dwellers made outcasts by the enclosures of the lords." While Mr. Bradley is here building largely upon the opinions of Mr. Harold Peake, the author of *The English Village,* the passage is perhaps worth quoting as showing the lengths to which advocates of race interpretations can go.

7. *Tudor Ideals,* New York, 1921. See especially the chapters on "Patriotism as an Ideal" and "Nationalism."

8. *Factors in Modern History.* The quotation is from the first chapter.

9. See A. B. White, *The Making of the English Constitution* (2d ed.; New York, 1925); and T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England,* Manchester, 1920.

10. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, *The Art of Writing* (New York, 1916), p. 151.

11. See the discussion on this point in the report to the Board of Education on *The Teaching of English in England.*

12. *Factors in Modern History,* chapter on "The New Monarchy."

13. Lytton Strachey, *Queen Victoria* (New York, 1921), p. 413.

14. See chapters iii and vi for a discussion of the Crown and Parliament.

15. Woodrow Wilson's *Congressional Government* and Walter Bagehot's *The English Constitution* contain classic discussions of this contrast.

16. The extension of state activities is conveniently described in such popular texts as those of Turberville and Howe, Trevelyan, Slater, etc. Its significance is appraised in terms of governmental organization in the Webbs's *A New Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain.*

17. See chapter vii.

18. See chapter xiii.

19. Sidney Low, *The Governance of England.*

20. Republished in *On England.*

21. The Webbs have pointed out in their latest edition of *The History of Trades Unionism* that this situation is a serious defect in the movement. Both geographic and functional jealousies among the unions might be partially eliminated, they assert, by the development of a London center. (See especially p. 592.)

22. Note how highly important international conversations were conducted quietly through the medium of the "week-end" and the country house as recorded in Baron Eckardstein's *Ten Years at the Court of St. James* and Lord Haldane's *Before the War.*

23. See Professor P. A. Boynton's *London in English Literature,* University of Chicago Press.

24. From Elie Halévy's *History of England in the Nineteenth Century,* vol. I. Compare the acute analysis of early nineteenth-century England by this Frenchman with that of *Post War Britain* made by his countryman André Siegfried.

25. From the introductory section to the first volume of the translation of M. Halévy's history.

CHAPTER II

THE OBLIGATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

The English distrust of logic is a deep-seated characteristic of the national character. . . . . Our pulses do not beat quicker when we hear of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Of the three, we care most about Liberty, but we are ready to sacrifice that in an emergency. Our legal system is built out of precedents, not on any general principles.—DEAN INGE, *England.*

The "rule of law" . . . . may be used as a formula for expressing the fact that with us the law of the constitution, the rules which in foreign countries naturally form part of a constitutional code, are not the source but the consequence of the rights of individuals, as defined and enforced by the courts; that, in short, the principles of private law have with us been by the action of the Courts and Parliament so extended as to determine the position of the Crown and of its servants; thus the constitution is the result of the ordinary law of the land.—A. V. DICEY, *An Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution.*

Do you think that the typical average miner, the hewer at the face, is really thinking seriously about wanting to manage his own industry? Does he really spend much of his time thinking about anything but his wages? No, I do not think so—any more than the average mine owner spends time in thinking about the beauties of private enterprise, or any more than the average citizen spends time in thinking about the concerns of the British Empire. The fact is, that in all large communities the majority of men are not thinking about public questions. But, on the other hand, the majority of men trust the ballot and elect persons who are thinking about those things; and what you have to consider is the judgment of that minority who command the confidence of their fellows.—R. H. TAWNEY, reply to questions before the Royal Commission on the Coal Industry, *Report,* Question 16, 993, January 14, 1926.

There is an extensive literature on the rights of citizens in Great Britain; that on the obligations of citizenship is non-existent.[1] It is only from observation of the conduct of groups and individuals that one can draw any conclusions concerning the response made by citizens to the demands of the state. Naturally there will be disagreement as to the validity of such demands.

Since the governmental structure rests broadly upon the participation of the mass of citizens as voters, one may look upon the exercise of the ballot as an obligation. During the past one hundred years, successive Acts of Parliament have widened the electorate greatly. It is unnecessary here to relate the story of the passage of the Acts of 1832, 1867, 1884, 1918, and 1928. As a result of the last Great Britain achieved what is virtually complete equal suffrage for persons twenty-one years of age and over. Plural voting is possible for those possessing in addition to residence qualification a university degree or business premises qualification. Members of such public institutions as almshouses, prisons, lunatic asylums, and workhouses are disqualified. Those who were conscientious objectors under the Military Services Acts of the World War were disqualified for the period ending August 31, 1926.[2]

The percentage of those qualified to vote who did so in the last General Election (1924) was approximately 80. In local elections it is generally much lower, depending upon the constituency and the nature of party groups and issues. It is, indeed, sometimes as low as 10 or 15 per cent. One may say that in national elections the failure to vote is not a problem of any importance, or at least is not viewed as such. In local elections, however, the indifference of the voter is at times commented upon and deplored.[3]

Citizens participate in the judicial process as jurors. There is no perceptible wide dissatisfaction with the system or the response on the part of the citizen. This may be due in part to the fact that those who might be seriously inconvenienced in any important way are released from such service; in part to efficient conduct of trials by the Courts; and in part to the tradition that popular participation in the judicial process is a further guaranty of liberty of the subject and protection from arbitrary action by administrators. There are, from time to time, criticisms of the courts or of particular juries in particular cases, confined to individuals or groups who feel that there has been a miscarriage of justice. Such criticism was voiced in 1925, for example, by the Communists at the failure to convict the Fascists who kidnapped Harry Pollitt; by various Labour party members at the conduct of the trial of the Communists in 1925; and by the actions and attitudes of some local magistrates during the General Strike of 1926.

We must recall, too, that some of the stresses which occur in the judicial systems of many states in controversies affecting economic groups are in Britain eased by parliamentary supremacy. An act of Parliament may unmake the principle laid down in a decision; a part of the agitation is, therefore, redirected into the area of party struggle. Nevertheless, one must not overlook the possibilities of criticism of a judicial system in which the justices of the peace are appointed by the Lord Chancellor, a member of the Cabinet. It is natural that this official should appoint persons who are members of the classes accepting the *status quo;* this has come to include the addition of some members of the Labour party. A more serious possibility is that the new Trade Union Act will throw the courts more directly into the controversies between employers and trades unions. Despite the tradition of personal integrity possessed by the judges, there have been lately ominous criticisms of their taking for granted premises which are the very issues over which economic struggles are waged.[4]

The obligation of the citizen to observe the laws raises some more far-reaching considerations. Every social institution develops in the individuals included within it certain attitudes and actions which comprise "behavior patterns." The acceptance of these is ordinarily customary; the sanctions behind them may be legal compulsion, fear of social ostracism, or recognition of concrete disadvantages such as loss of property or social prestige. Great Britain is a plexus of social groups, many possessing a wide scope for self-government—the lawyers and the medical profession, the universities and the trade unions are cases in point. A great many citizens come to participate in the administration and government of these as well as in the more formal governing structure of local and national politics. So long as the patterns thus developed are in general accord with the facts of life, the problem of law observance is not a difficult one. From time to time new situations develop, however—a continued economic depression, the rise of a new process in law or medicine—which cause some groups or individuals to reject the customary pattern and demand a new one. The cumulative power of the tradition of observance of accepted rules, however, is very strong; and it is reinforced by the possibility of obtaining changes in the institution by peaceful, if slow, methods of agitation, remonstrance, and the ballot. The nature of family life and of school life inculcate the doctrine of "playing the game" according to the accepted rules of the class. To reject the rules is to run risks, not only of legal punishment, but of loss of social prestige unless the new situation is so obviously out of tune with the old pattern that the necessity for a new one is clearly discerned by a considerable group of people. Again, the governing classes have in the past been willing to use troops to put down social disorder, and presumably would do so again if need should arise. There is a widespread popular belief that the British are "by nature" law-abiding. But there were serious riots during the period of stress which followed the Napoleonic Wars; and Peterloo had its martyrs and Bristol its riots. During the General Strike in 1926, it was evident that elaborate preparations had been made by the government to have soldiers and sailors available at possible danger spots; and the tributes paid to the evenness of temper of the British with which that struggle was conducted should in part be deflected, perhaps, to the armed forces whose availability made direct action seem a most hazardous undertaking. Few of the responsible leaders of labor care to become martyrs when the advantage to their movement is not evident. Several members of the Labour party have noted that there is a fairly general recognition in the movement of the critical situation all Britain (save the very wealthy who might be able to get away to their foreign properties) would be in for food supplies in any social upheaval; it was partly due to this that the General Strike was called off. To have proceeded farther with it would have been to court a genuine revolution in which the masses of people would have suffered greatly. Residence in "a tight little island" with neighbors who would not be unwilling to see the weakening of the British state through its own acts has its sobering responsibilities.

Elsewhere there is discussed the place of the family and the school in developing in youths the habit of accepting a code suitable for life in a social unit.[5] This leads to the recognition by the young of certain duties and observances to be met and of leaders to be followed. In the schools this is very much emphasized by the system of government through the prefects, older boys who have even the power of punishment of the younger boys. Furthermore the widespread emphasis on sports and on "playing the game" even at the cost of winning fosters a particular pattern of law observance.[6] Later on in life the young man may become a member of a trade union, a co-operative society, a sports club, a social club, or enter a circle of society which includes the country house and the Pall Mall club with rules and observances quite as powerful as those found in school or the family. If he—or she—is at all politically inclined, early experience in local government on the Council, the Poor Law Guardians, as a party worker, as a justice of the peace, or as a voluntary social worker for a settlement or some adult education project tends to reinforce the earlier training in joint cooperative effort. The result of these experiences is to make general a career of citizenship in which the normal experience includes a sharing in several social undertakings—home, school, sports, social clubs, economic organizations, and the like. Where these experiences are thwarted, one will find a different attitude toward law observance.

A second factor affecting citizenship is the relation of lawmaking to public opinion in England. Fosdick points out what one has constantly confirmed in conversation with various persons of all sorts of interests that the police "are not asked to enforce laws which from the standpoint of accepted public habit or taste are fundamentally unenforceable."[7] This is partly due to the fact that initiative in legislation normally lies with the Cabinet. There is a responsible body in public sight and in close touch with the experienced public officials and the problems of law enforcement, which may come in for political punishment if it attempts to legislate ahead of general opinion as roused by the hungry opposition. The clergy of the Established churches of England and Scotland are reluctant to urge restrictive legislation affecting social habits despite active minorities among them concerned over the drink traffic, gambling, and other social problems; and they possess the weight of social prestige allied to that of their positions. This does not make for fervor in matters of legislation and administration, and of course the Roman Catholic community rarely throws its strength in favor of legislating morality. In short the fact of the focusing of responsibility upon a group of party leaders for initiating legislation, the contact of that group with the problem of enforcing those laws already upon the statute book, and the lack of anything approaching unity among church groups in developing social ethics through legislation create a reluctance, apart from social inertia, to pass laws which set up a new behavior pattern for many persons who would be opposed to the moral views there embodied.[8]

A third factor is the comparative homogeneity of the English population.[9] There are few alien communities, and there are many evidences of the dislike of any developing. There are few behavior patterns in conflict as a result of the homogeneous quality of the British population, fewer problems of language, diet, and housing differences to be ascribed to racial factors. It is significant that where alien groups are to be found—e.g., the Irish in Liverpool and Glasgow—the problem of law enforcement is more difficult partly because of religious differences. There is some evidence that the British have become more hostile to immigrant groups than formerly.[10] But the scarcity of alien groups makes for a feeling of the security of the prevailing culture and, therefore, places less strain on the law-enforcing machinery. All persons are, therefore, brought into the integrated scheme of social groups more quickly than a community comprising many culture groups finds possible.

A fourth factor which tends to develop acquiesence in the accepted behavior patterns of the community is the continuity and relative fixity of social classes and groups. The fact that one lives in the same place as one's ancestors, follows the same economic grouping, worships in the same church, recognizes a certain inevitability in the structure of the monarchy and aristocracy and Established Church, conduces toward a respect for the laws and general social arrangements of the community also. The normal attitude becomes one of acceptance of position and adjustment to the prevailing views and practices of the community.[11]

The rights of Englishmen have grown out of the securing, through the courts, of freedom from the invasion of personal liberty by the amassing of innumerable decisions and their cumulative power in developing a comprehensive tradition of legal security from unjust interference by the government or by private corporations and individuals. Freedom, in Tennyson's phrase, has "slowly broadened down from precedent to precedent," and has not waited upon expression in the generalities of a fundamental bill of rights. No one can look to any document, even the famous Magna Charta or the Bill of Rights, as an instrument automatically guaranteeing, through the courts, freedom to the individual. Rather freedom is based upon the long-time practices of the community as recognized by the courts in adjusting disputes. As a consequence, each generation must test anew its constitutional precepts. It cannot take its scheme of liberties for granted. There is, to be sure, an enormous prescriptive and vested power behind accepted principles and rights, partly bulwarked by the suspensive veto of the House of

Lords and the professional conservatism of the lawyers. And yet change through parliamentary action is a possibility; and British citizens must go through a school of constitutional law with every shift in the center of social power, and determine afresh the adjustment of individuals and groups within the legal structure.

Perhaps most important of all factors is the widespread confidence in the integrity of the police, the courts, and the general governmental system. To refer to a contrasting situation, in many states there has been lawlessness in the form of direct action, which has been partly due to a lack of confidence on the part of the public in the competence and integrity of officials. The result is a general decline in civic consciousness in this matter.[12] Throughout Britain, however, one has the general impression that the police are respected. Fosdick refers to this in his own studies,[13] but even the chance traveler will notice the friendliness of the officers, their willingness to aid in any possible way, their faculty of being present at once in any emergency, their lack of domineering or brutal methods in handling crowds and disturbances. The police strike of a few years ago of course caused some very unfavorable comment, but it served to focus attention on the problems of pay and representation which the public, as employer, overlooks and brought some remedies. The system of grants in aid to the extent of one-half the net cost of financing the police administration of the localities maintained by the central government carries with it, of course, the requirement of meeting certain minimum standards. Broadly speaking, the recruitment and discipline of the police is divorced from party interests; training courses are given to the new recruits; higher officials are selected from men of long experience in police administration; and through the county councils, smaller areas are benefited from being served jointly under one unit with the other communities in the county. The boroughs of larger size have their own systems, of course, while the Metropolitan District of London is directly under an official responsible to the Home Secretary. It is significant that the policeman, however, in England has no powers in the preservation of the public security not possessed by an ordinary citizen. As Sir James Stephen put it in his *History of the Criminal Law*, "With a few exceptions a policeman is a person paid to perform, as a matter of duty, acts which, if he be so minded, he might have done voluntarily." He must suffer, therefore, if his acts are illegal, and he cannot plead the orders of superiors if those orders are illegal. In consequence the whole attitude toward policemen is that they are servants of the community, and as useful servants are to be accepted as a part of the nature of things.[14]

What has been said concerning the general public attitude toward the police administration will apply generally to the administration of law enforcement by other agencies, subject to certain exceptions.[15] There is, however, the possibility of party interference in prosecutions. The Public Prosecutors are selected by the Home Secretary, and in a case in which political issues are involved that official will naturally be consulted as to the desirable procedure. There have been cases in which a public issue has been raised because of the position taken, as in the Campbell case which was the immediate cause of the downfall of the McDonald government in 1924, and in the case of the Fascisti (1925) who seized the *Herald* van and who were not prosecuted for larceny by the Public Prosecutor, that charge being withdrawn for a less serious one. This aroused considerable comment and some questions to the Home Secretary. His department has the duty of preparing for serious civic disturbances such as may be due to industrial conflicts. The recognition by the present Home Secretary, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, of the Organization for the Maintenance of Supply (O.M.S.), a private organization which developed in 1925 for the purpose of maintaining various services in the event of the threatened strikes because of the situation in the mining industry, led to some criticism. But it was significant that even many critics of the O.M.S. recognized the duty of the government to prepare for such emergencies by enrolling persons able to operate essential services, the leader of the Labour party asserting that the Trades Union Congress had a committee charged with the consideration of this problem. Broadly speaking, the majority, judging from the press, the attitudes of party leaders, general conversation, and letters look upon this function of the government as essential to the state. Somewhat related to this is the practice of swearing in special constables for emergency work. Labor leaders were incensed at the suggestion that the Liverpool police officials should enrol Fascisti who had offered themselves as special constables in the event of a strike.

Some exceptions must be made to this general statement of law enforcement and the citizen. There are some to whom law enforcement is not a moral obligation; it may be an immoral one.

For example, members of the Society of Friends rejected military service or even forced civilian service during the war as a part of their moral code. This was due to the development, through their teaching and through their intensive communal religious experience and practice, of a plexus of beliefs and emotions which supplanted those of the larger community.[16] There are other groups who refuse obedience to certain laws for conscience as do the anti-vaccination group. Another type is found among those whose lives have been lived in conditions thwarting the normal development of interests and attitudes of the majority. Bad housing; inadequate food; child labor; no schooling; but little recreation; lack of contact with churches, settlements, and clubs,—these factors have cut them off from the forces making for the easy acceptance of the codes developed by social groups. They have had no training in the making of laws and the development of a civic life.[17] Their contact with the political and economic systems, with personal knowledge of unemployment, mendicancy, or petty crimes has made them cynical and hard. The injection of a burning religious or economic issue, utilized effectively by persons desirous of their aid, tends to rally them to a cause which brings color and meaning to an otherwise drab and lusterless existence. Again, some who were able to find in the war the sublimation of a rather bored and mediocre self in a larger and more important cause, but unable in the more pedestrian times of peace to meet the demands for patient and quiet work in less enthraling tasks, seek in such movements as that of the Fascisti a more exciting life. In short, with all such groups direct action constitutes a kind of release and escape from the cold and continuous demands for hard work in club, trade union, church, business, allotment society, co-operative local, and the like to a superficially freer and more exciting imaginary world which appears of tremendous importance. The Russian experiment and the teachings of its leaders tend to raise the allegiance of one group to something beyond the present, the material, and the local; so, too, for another group, does the experiment and teachings of Mussolini and the Fascists in Italy. These have created a world of ideas, of plots, escapes, secret envoys, physical struggles, to which something, perhaps the playboy quality, in each one of us is responsive in some degree. Given actual conditions in which we cannot effectively share in the general institutional life of the community, we escape to these other realms. Unquestionably there are those in these various camps who have no interest in the maintenance of the law, and flout the whole machinery of government. They will vary in number with the capacity of the society of the day to absorb them, with some degree of interest and enthusiasm, in the complicated machinery of community life.[18] But they always loom in the background as a center for possible disturbance.

Industrial disputes, of course, are possible sources for lawbreaking. A kind of moral and even religious fervor may develop in some of the isolated mining or industrial villages, especially when goaded on by what seems to be a gross injustice or by the hasty action of an official. As an officer of the union once remarked, "I am only afraid of the men when they begin singing hymns. Then I expect a riot and get it. I have been arrested twice in strikes, and both times when we were all singing hymns." Similarly the religious differences in Glasgow and Liverpool are the occasion of riots between Irish and Scottish and English groups. In both these situations you have groups whose training in the orderly processes of social organizations is inadequate or incomplete at some point, who have been thwarted by low wages, bad housing, isolated cultural life, or some other factors, and who are swept along emotionally in a critical situation. A friend of mine in a mining area, for example, told me that when a strike came the first thing done by the organizers is to start football leagues as an effective focuser of activity and interest, and to prevent brooding and violence. In general industrial disputes have in the past been conducted in good humor, partly due to the generally accepted tradition of the recognition of collective negotiation.

In the report on Criminal Statistics submitted by the Home Office (1925) will be found, in the introductory note, some interesting comments on law observance in Britain at the present time.

> Since the war crime appears to have assumed new forms. There has been a great increase of certain descriptions of crimes of dishonesty accompanied by violence, of which breaking into unguarded shops and warehouses by night and removing the goods or merchandise in motor vans is a typical and frequent example. . . . . Frauds and commercial dishonesty have also flourished. . . . . On the other hand crimes of violence against the person and crimes savouring of habitual criminality tend to diminish. . . . . The opinion may be hazarded that crime in general has steadily diminished over a considerable period of years, and in addition the reduction is greatest in the more serious forms of law breaking.

It is true, also, that infraction of traffic regulations is seriously increasing with the increase in motor vehicles. It is noteworthy that the discretion left with the police officer in the matter of arrest in petty cases naturally tends to cut down the number of arrests, since the officer may determine that the wiser policy, in any given course, is to warn the individual involved without arresting him.

If there are no treatises upon the obligations of British citizenship, nevertheless the citizen continues to play his part with quiet effectiveness. He participates in the electoral and judicial process as a result of a long-time development of the British political system. He pays his taxes[19] and observes the other laws in part because he feels that he himself with his fellows have the ultimate authority to secure ligislation. Since the tradition is against any extensive sumptuary legislation, no recalcitrant or indifferent minorities exist to create a problem of enforcement. The general integrity and efficiency of the courts and police system contribute to this attitude. It is true, also, that the participation by the citizen from childhood in varied social groups with considerable governing authority—the family, the school, the trade union, the professional organization, and others—results in a recognition by the average citizen of the advantages and requirements of proper procedure and method in securing social change. The nature of the governmental system places a premium upon peaceful agitation, political and constitutional action, and makes less inevitable the thwarted and embittered social groups that are to be found where the existing order is maintained by various constitutional or other bulwarks and props. A few groups, at times, develop different patterns of conduct because of desired objectives or environmental conditions. Compared to the mass they are usually unimportant. The tradition of both the playing-field and politics is against direct action; racial homogeneity and the respect for superior social station strengthen this tradition. This equilibrium, however, may be overturned. If the normal life of the voluntary associations is restrained; if "the rules of the game" are invaded; if the standard of life is challenged by the incapacity of the existing economic system, there is stuff at hand for outbreaks which have generally been avoided by a peaceful compromise and adjustment by the warring groups. To many, Britain seemed upon the eve of such an outbreak over the Ulster crisis when the World War intervened. Many looked forward to, some hoped for, such a cataclysm through a continuance of the General Strike in 1925. Will the present forces which constitute a scheme of civic education continue to control? One cannot find an answer in a vague characteristic of "law observance." One must search among the delicate interrelationships of institutions and societies and attitudes. It is notable, however, that the movements for political and industrial democracy have not been accompanied in any like degree with an undermining of respect for social position; and it is thereby the easier to apply the codes of the governing class—"the rules of the game"—to the mass of citizens.

NOTES

1. See on this the study by Dicey, previously quoted. The writings of F. W. Maitland give to the reader the sense of cumulative nationalizing force in the development of law in England; for a charming personal memoir of a distinguished Scotch lawyer and judge in which this force is revealed see Lord Shaw's *Letters to Isabel.* In chapter vii, I discuss the personal service of state as a form of citizenship.

2. Professor Harold Gosnell, of the University of Chicago, has in preparation a study of British election practices. See his "Die Volksbeteiligung bie den englischen Wahlen," *Zeitschrift für Politik,* XVI, 242 *et seq.* See also H. L. Morris's *Parliamentary Franchise in England from 1885 to 1918,* "Columbia University Studies" (New York, 1921).

3. The conservatives are loudest in urging indifferent voters to the polls on the ground that the labor groups capture local councils because of failure of the middle classes to vote.

4. During October, 1925, the London *Times* published letters and news items in which the appointment of Justices of the Peace was discussed, following a letter of Lord Graham's in which the appointments of the Lord Chancellor (Lord Cave) were criticized on partisan grounds. Lord Haldane, Lord Chancellor in both a Liberal and a Labour government, in an address reported on October 24, remarked "He [Lord Haldane] was very indiscriminate and appointed people without regard to their opinions so long as the balance was kept in the country. He did not allow in individual cases opinions to stand in the way of selection unless there was something in the creed of the candidate which made it impossible that he should do his duty to the public property. He would have hesitation in appointing Communists, not from any abstract objections to Communism—people might hold what opinions they liked as far as he was concerned—but because there was something in the creed of the Communists which made it a little difficult for them to observe the laws." Some Labour party leaders have been critical of the courts, and the Solicitor General in the Labour government, Sir Henry Slesser, has stated that a reform of the jury system is needed. He himself has added, however, to the general expression of confidence in the virtues of the British judiciary.

5. See chapter viii.

6. Mr. E. F. Benson in his memoir *Our Family Affairs* and in his novel *David Blaize* has described the force of "good form" and student government in the preparatory and public schools. See also *Across the Bridges,* by Alexander Paterson for a description of the codes among boys in the working-class districts of South London.

7. See Raymond Fosdick, *American Police Systems,* pp. 46 *et seq.,* and p. 4.

8. When the tax on betting was introduced in 1926 there were some fears of a powerful opposition from the Non-Conformist groups. That tax is now in operation, however, and the difficulties which confront temperance reform are due not only to the vested interests of "the trade" but a widely held reluctance to invade the "rights" of citizens.

9. Fosdick remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 7) "Homogeneity simplifies the task of government. Long-established traditions of order and standards of public conduct, well-understood customs and practices which smooth the rough edges of personal contact, a definite racial temperament and a fixed set of group habits by which conflicting interests are more readily comprehended and adjusted—in short, the social solidarity and cohesiveness which come only from a common language and a common heritage—all these factors, so interwoven in French and English community life, and so essential in facilitating the maintenance of law, are utterly unknown in any of the towns and cities of the United States." They are found, however, in most British communities.

10. Since the war there has been a greater care taken in regulating the admission and movements of aliens, and in the renewal of regulatory legislation former exemptions for political refugees are apparently (1927) to be scrapped. It is significant that one of the effective weapons used by the Conservatives against the Labour party is the accusation that it is controlled or influenced from Moscow; and the receipt of financial aid from Moscow during the strike in 1926 prejudiced the cause of the miners among the middle and upper classes. A cause of this severity is to be found in the extensive unemployment in Britain; and the desire of many groups to limit the number of persons available for employment reinforces the policy of exclusion and regulation. The police in late years under the direction of the Home Office have kept a sharp scrutiny upon foreigners known to have any radical connections. On this see chapter xv.

11. There is a charming study of the habits and customs of the countryside in Kipling's short story "An Habitation Enforced" in *Actions and Reactions.* At its worst this fixity of class leads, of course, to snobbery and is illustrated by the status of servants or the attitude of the "county families" toward "trade" (from which their families doubtless emerged in the not too distant past).

12. There is a close correlation between lynching, rioting, and direct action generally and a lack of confidence in the efficiency of the governmental system or the failure to maintain in public respect a privileged "governing class" in Italy and the United States. See, for example, Sturzo's study of Italy under Fascism or surveys of the administration of the criminal law in Cleveland and Missouri.

13. *European Police Systems*, p. 235. "Indeed, a London 'bobby' is more or less a favorite with the people. He is liked, respected, and generally admired. I once saw a crowd of working-men roughly handling a chauffeur whose machine had narrowly escaped knocking down a constable on point of duty. 'If 'e 'd 'it you, we'd ha' killed 'im,' they told the 'bobby' when he went to the man's rescue. This public attitude of support, which seems to amount almost to affection, is the product of many years of unstrained relationship between police and people. It is due to the fact that the public generally is in full accord not only with the methods of their constables, but with the laws which the constables are called upon to enforce." The discussion of the British and continental police systems in this book should be consulted for detailed information. But one should note recent criticisms of the police for illegal arrests, especially in morals cases, and the general attitude toward the problem of street solicitation. See the *Manchester Guardian Weekly,* May 4, 1928, on "The Scandal of Hyde Park."

14. The after-the-war industrial disputes, prolonged by the continued depression, are placing a great strain on the position of the police in industrial dis-

tricts. While it is remarkable that so few clashes have developed, it is evident that the strains have increased since the General Strike, especially in the mining areas. The capture by Labour parties of municipal councils with powers over police administration will make this problem the more difficult.

15. Fosdick remarks of the British criminal courts (*American Police Systems,* p. 36) "One gets the impression of a swiftly moving, silent machine—the embodiment of the certainty of justice in England." The relation of the Home Office to law enforcement generally is presented adequately in a recent study by Sir Edward Troup *(The Home Office),* a former Permanent Under-Secretary of that department.

16. See John Graham, *Conscription and Conscience* (London, 1922), a valuable sympathetic study of the conscientious objectors, and *On Two Fronts,* by T. C. Catchpool (Oxford, 1918), the letters of a Friend who was a conscientious objector. Clifford Allen in a speech reported in the first of the volumes cited above (p. 337) stated that "I cannot see how we could avoid the charge of disloyalty to our nation, but I would now plead that we may be considered genuine in our citizenship, believing, as we did, that if we remained faithful, we might help in preserving those very ideas of liberty for which the nations had gone to war. Our fellow-pacifists, who by reason of sex or age were not personally liable to military service, were devoting their lives to advocating these same new conceptions of national well-being and international co-operation, of justice between nations built upon a righteous peace. . . . . We did believe that our stand was a genuine expression of citizenship."

17. "I have no hesitation in saying," wrote the Head Constable of Liverpool in his report to the Watch Committee for 1910, "that by far the greater part of the crime of Liverpool is due to poverty."

18. I have many clippings from the press of the months from July to December, 1926, relating to "direct action." These clippings fall into two general classes—those dealing with Fascist organizations, and those dealing with Communist declarations including accounts of the Communists' trial. The Fascist societies assert that their purpose is to support law and order and oppose Bolshevism or Communism. Some members were involved, however, in street-rioting in attempting to break up meetings of Labour or Communist groups, and once a few Fascists tried to destroy copies of the Labour paper, the *Daily Herald.* There was complaint at the light sentences which they received. The Fascists made a few public appearances during this period, once to place a wreath upon the Cenotaph at Whitehall. It is difficult to find out how numerous they are. They assert in one of their pamphlets "It is not enough to ENCOURAGE patriotism we must FORCE it on our people, by waking them up to the realization that Patriotism is not an optional sentiment but a DUTY, the first duty of every British man, woman, and child. . . . ."

The Communists I discuss later in the chapter on parties. However threatening their statements may be, the Communist leaders have so little support among the labor groups that they constitute but an unimportant problem so far as the danger of violent law-breaking is concerned. Throughout the late summer and fall of 1925, they urged the labor groups to "prepare" for May, suggesting that at that time the great struggle with the capitalist groups would ensue and, therefore, the workers should be armed for the struggle. How ineffectual such appeals are is witnessed by the actual course of events in May, when the General Strike was characterized by a lack of violence which greatly impressed foreign states.

As a matter of fact, the most serious threat against the authority of the state in recent years in Great Britain came from the ultra-conservative leaders of the Unionist party who, in 1914, openly threatened to support Ulster in armed rebellion if the Home Rule Act were put into force. See on this the quotation from Bonar Law, F. E. Smith (now Lord Birkenhead) and others in Lord Oxford's *Fifty Years of British Parliament*, pp. 151 *et seq*. The nexus of interests leading such men to such a position is very complex. Undoubtedly resentment over the Parliament Act of 1911, and the Budget of 1909, brought about an unusually bitter feeling against the Liberals; religious feeling is discernible, of course, as well as the anger of some who feared that their wealth would be threatened by the measure. The vague "stereotype" of the union as a symbol of unity for the empire gave to the Unionists a feeling of patriotism and self-righteousness, just as certain Quakers, undergoing sacrifice during the war as conscientious objectors, secured some satisfaction from a sense of martyrdom for their conscience' sake. It is often amusing to find Labour party leaders accused of advocating "Bolshevism" and destruction to the Constitution retaliating especially against Sir William Joynson-Hicks, the Home Secretary who has been particularly alarmed, by reading extracts from his somewhat unrestrained pro-Ulster speeches of 1914. On the other hand the Russian leaders berate the British Labour leaders for their timidity, bourgeois conceptions of "evolution" and "inevitability of gradualness" and "religiosity."

19. The interest of different classes of tax and rate payers is represented by societies such as the Income Taxpayers' Society, the National Union of Farmers, and other semi-political voluntary associations. The collection of the taxes levied by the central government apparently suffers from no organized opposition, although it is limited at times through a limitation on the number of expert civil servants available for this purpose. J. M. Keynes, the economist, has suggested that an increase in the number of these officials would be an economy in that more taxes might be collected. The capture of some local governments by Labour and the use of the powers vested in the Poor Law Guardians to increase the amount of outdoor relief payments has laid a great burden upon property in those districts in which unemployment is greatest; it is possible that this might cause some refusals to pay local rates by property owners. The central government through the Ministry of Health has intervened in some areas.

CHAPTER III

THE PERSONIFICATION OF STATE

The King is necessarily the head and centre of the old army system, of the diplomatic tradition, of hiératic privileges, of a sort of false England that veils the realities of English life. While he remains, the old army system remains, Society remains, the militant tradition remains. They are all bound up together, inseparably. The people cannot comprehend themselves in relation to the world while, at every turn and crisis of the collective life, the national king, the national uniforms, the national flags and bands thrust blare and bunting across the realities. For millions these shows are naturally accepted as the realities. They personify and intensify and ensure the national distinction, the separation of the marching, fighting, grabbing Empire from the general business of mankind. How else can a monarchy work considering how monarchs are made and trained and flattered?—William Clissold, reported by MR. H. G. WELLS in his novel, *The World of William Clissold.*

We do not ask for a brilliant King, and we should not tolerate an ambitious King, but we need a King whose character we can respect, whose loyalty to his office is above suspicion, and whose capacity is adequate. We have such a King today, and it is because we hope the country will have such a King in the future that we scrutinise a little closely the promise of the Prince.—A. G. GARDINER in *Portraits and Portents.*

The common decision that it is both necessary and desirable that the titular head of the State should not be charged with any part of the actual government or administration of the community may be accepted in the Socialist Commonwealth. Especially for the British Commonwealth of Nations, of which we assume the continuance in a democratic form, is such a titular or ceremonial headship almost indispensable, and any union of this headship with government or administration quite impracticable. It does not seem necessary to propose any change in the system, to which the nation is accustomed, of this titular or ceremonial headship being vested—not by Divine Right or any independent title, but merely by virtue of a statute like any other statute, open to be repealed or amended at any time as any other law is repealed or amended, by decision of the popular legislature—in a member, accurately designated according to heredity of a particular family. In the circumstances of the British Commonwealth of Nations, including, as it must for a long time to come, communities of many different races, many different civilizations in many different stages of self-government, with institutions of many different grades of Democracy, there seem to be insuperable difficulties in providing for an elective headship. Without exaggerating the political advantages of an hereditary monarch of the British type—without ignoring, on the other hand, the social disadvantages by which it has hitherto been accompanied—it is suggested that the necessary titular and ceremonial headship of the State should be retained essentially in its present form.—SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB, *A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain.*

Our Parliament, for instance, is still predominantly aristocratic in texture because a political career involves difficulties for almost all who do not live by owning. Education is still largely determined by the position of one's parents; to go to Eton and Christ Church is a kind of family habit. Many of the best regiments in the army are practically a private reserve for the sons of ancient families. All of them show courage in the face of danger; but it is not all of them who develop a grasp of military science. Even the diplomatic service is a career access to which lies open only with difficulty to those not born within a fairly narrow circle. They give to charity the perfume of their presence. Their bazaars and their bridge parties, beautified by the occasional presence of some member of the Royal House, serve to remind them that they have a duty to the poor. They maintain their interest in intelligence by a winter in Luxor; they keep alive the national character by their devotion to the fox and the partridge. They live in London only six months of the year. When they leave for the "shires," or the warmth of the Riviera, London is empty, save for the six million old Londoners who work to keep them alive. And a vast journalistic organization is maintained to gratify the populace with pictures of this incredible procession. —HAROLD LASKI, *A Grammar of Politics.*

Bagehot declares:

The best reason why Monarchy is strong government is, that it is an intelligible government. The mass of mankind understand it, and they hardly anywhere in the world understand any other. It is often said that men are ruled by their imaginations; but it would be truer to say they are governed by the weakness of their imaginations. The nature of a constitution, the action of an assembly, the play of parties, the unseen formation of a guiding opinion are complex facts, difficult to know, and easy to mistake. But the action of a single will, the fiat of a single mind, are easy ideas: anybody can make them out, and no one can ever forget them. . . . . The mystic reverence, the religious allegiance, which are essential to a true monarchy, are imaginative sentiments that no legislature can manufacture in any people. These semi-filial feelings in government are inherited just as the true filial feelings in common life. You might as well adopt a father as make a monarchy: the special sentiment belonging to the one is as incapable of voluntary creation as the peculiar affection belonging to the other.[1]

One cannot wholly disentangle the several influences which together constitute the national sentiment concerning royalty. There is, for example, the constitutional political position occupied by the King; there is his relationship to the British empire and the several governments of the dominions within the empire; there is his titular rôle in the Established Churches of England and Scotland; there is the relationship of the Court to Society, civic movements, and "good works"; and there is the association of the royal family with various civic ceremonials.

Historians have revealed the importance of the monarchy as a rallying point of national interest, and as an instrument through which the political integration of England, Scotland, and Wales was accomplished. One must here indicate briefly the place of the King in the contemporary political system so far as information is at present available. Two political studies of the past few years give some account of this situation. One is that of Sidney Low, the other of Graham Wallas.[2] It is significant that while both describe the generally accepted theory of the relations of the King and the ministers of the day, both question—Wallas especially strongly—the popular belief that the King has been effectively stripped of actual political power. Since Bagehot wrote, for example, important changes have affected the institution. Imperialism has become a powerful sentiment, and the central symbol of that sentiment is the monarchy. Foreign policy has become of greater importance, and there is a peculiarly intimate association of diplomacy, high military and naval officialdom and the Court; the vast increase in the electorate with the development of instruments of large-scale publicity such as the film, the radio, and the illustrated journal has increased the importance of a voice and person who may represent, above party and religious lines, the state to the masses.

The relation between a British monarch and his ministers at any given moment is a secret which is amazingly well kept, and which only becomes known about a generation after the events; but in so far as the facts of nineteenth-century history are now known, they indicate that at no time in that century did the institution work as the theory required that it should work. No British monarch during the nineteenth century accepted the view of his position laid down in the constitutional treatises.[3]

This can be documented (as Wallas documents it) from the letters published in the Moneypenny and Buckle biography of Disraeli, especially those in the last two volumes; nor should the brief glimpses which are given of the relations between the King, Cabinet members, and diplomats, and heads of foreign states in Baron Eckardstein's *Ten Years at the Court of St. James* and Lord Haldane's *Before the War* pass unmarked.

Very little is now known about the political activities of Edward VII or George V, but certain comments in the newspapers on British action during the war in respect of the Czar of Russia, the King of Greece, and the royal telegram to Marshal Pilsudski at the time of the Polish offensive of 1920, indicated that complaints may have been made of a court policy in foreign affairs sometimes separable from that of the Prime Minister.[4]

This is not to suggest that there is a steady exercise of initiative in matters of policy by the King. But while ministers come and go, the King remains a permanent official. He has not only his personal secretary and staff, with their family and social ties in the governing class, to advise him, but there are usually certain elder statesmen with whom he is in touch—such persons, one may surmise, as Lord Rosebery, Lord Balfour, Lord Morley, Mr. Clynes, or Mr. Thomas. Where a Cabinet is evenly divided, where there is strong opposition in one or both houses to an important legislative proposal, the additional effort needed to allay the fears of the King may assume a decisive importance with the Prime Minister. In the selection of a ministry or of ecclesiastical or civil officials, his wishes may affect the filling of certain posts. Wallas examines the situation which existed during the Ulster crisis of 1914, and concludes that the leader of the Conservative party, Mr. Bonar Law, then deliberately called for the independent intervention of the King for the exercise of constitutional functions which had presumably been transferred to the ministers.[5] Since Wallas wrote, Sir Almeric Fitzroy's *Memoirs* have been published. As Clerk of the Privy Council he had for twenty-five years been in close touch with the relations between the King and his ministers. It is apparent from this account that many ministers viewed the King as possessing clearly an independent judgment, not to be lightly used, but important in critical times. During the crisis over the Parliament Act of 1911, when the Liberal government was threatening the creation of 400 new peers, Fitzroy records:[6]

> Lord Morley . . . . told me afterwards that His Majesty was much exercised in his mind by the criticism which he had incurred by consenting to the creation of Peers. He shrinks, it appears, from the language probably held in the Carlton Club, but, as Lord Morley told him, it was better to run the risk of that than to be denounced from every platform as the enemy of the people. His natural sensitiveness has been aggravated by the receipt of a large number of anonymous letters which he insists on reading for the "amusement" they afford; but it is an indulgence that rankles. The charge, too, of having betrayed the so-called Irish *loyalists* touches him closely. . . . . The King's extreme conscientiousness was, in Lord Morley's opinion, one source of his susceptibility, and lack of experience reflected itself in some hesitation and self-mistrust; but a strong sense of obligation, coupled with a desire to shape his conduct to the most correct standard of constitutional propriety, fortified resolution when it had to be translated into action.

Later, during the Ulster crises, he writes:[7]

> Lord Morley had a long conversation with the King on the present aspect of the crisis. His Majesty holds very strongly that Ministers can hardly advise him to assent to the Home Rule Bill unless the Amending Bill reaches him as an agreed measure at the same time. He deems himself fortified in this position by the language of Asquith, who, in one of his speeches, treated the two bills as part of one solution, or, as Lord Morley said, practically interdependable. The King asked him for the text of the Prime Minister's observations, which he promised to furnish. To an enquiry whether I saw any objection to his doing so, I replied that his obligation as one of His Majesty's servants, was primarily to the King, who had every right to the actual texts of such an important deliverance.

During the strained relations with Ireland in 1921, when the King went to Belfast to open the new Ulster Parliament, Fitzroy records:[8] "I cannot but fear an error has been committed in urging the King to open the Ulster Parliament. The objections are both obvious and weighty. Apart from personal risk, which is probably inconsiderable, the act cannot be divested of a sectional aspect." It was this address of the King which was held by many to be a partially independent utterance; it was also responsible in part for the moves which led to the Irish treaty. "Lloyd George tendered His Majesty their grateful thanks for his remarks, and repeated what he had told the Cabinet yesterday, that they owed their success in large measure to the initiation taken by the King in his speech at the opening of the Ulster Parliament." Thus Fitzroy comments on the Council held on December 7, 1921, when the Irish treaty had been signed by both parties.

But apart from his actual political power, the Monarch has an interest for us as the personification and symbol of the national state. It is difficult to disentangle this aspect of the institution from its constitutional one; but there is a difference, perhaps, between the delight of a crowd of Canadians, Australians, or Londoners at the sight of a royal procession and their attitude toward the policy of the government of the day. Within the past few years the Prince of Wales has visited India, Canada, South Africa, and other parts of the empire;[9] the Duke of York has visited Australia to open the new Parliament buildings at Canberra, and New Zealand. The King has once more stayed at his royal palace at Holyrood, and opened the new Ulster Parliament. He welcomes the representatives of foreign states and entertains at Buckingham Palace the president of France or the queen of Spain. The decline in the number of crowned heads of Europe has limited one area of former influence, since through intermarriage of royal families new channels of diplomatic relations were opened. Wallas has noted the fact that the use of the imperial symbolism conveniently avoids or postpones closer inquiry into the actual political relations between the dominions and the mother-country.[10] It is useful, too, in India, where many separate states and a diversity of races and religions have come to realize something akin to a national life through and under British rule; and the British rule is through a viceroy and in the name of an Emperor. The remoteness of the King and his family from the issues which divide people in the dominions contributes to popular interest or even affection for them as representing the whole empire and not a faction or party.[11] Representatives of various parts of the empire are entertained at Buckingham Palace or other royal residences; members of the royal family lend their patronage to imperial societies; and in the remotest regions it is His Majesty's mail that is delivered, or a Crown official who administers.

It is through ceremonials, however, that this symbolism becomes most vivid and dramatic.

> It is because the Sovereign embodies in his own person all the attributes of the State that he can on great ceremonial occasions represent the Nation in a manner that would be quite impossible for an uncrowned head. The Sovereign is so far lifted above all other men by his high

hereditary rank that he can be invested with social power which it would be difficult to entrust to an ordinary citizen or to the temporary President of a Republic. It was in his capactiy as the representative of the whole Empire that King George appeared at the great Durbar at Delhi, in December, 1911, where he received the homage of the Native Princes of India. The King, on that impressive occasion, in reality personified the objects and aims of British rule in India. When also the Sovereign makes visits of ceremony to the monarchs of other countries, he goes not simply as an illustrious private person, but as the Ambassador of the whole nation, to convey to the foreign ruler the good will of the inhabitants of this country. That in itself is a great office, which it is well should be performed by one who is above party ties, and beyond the reach of party politics. The more you think of this the more you will realize the value of the kingly office in our relations with foreign countries.

This is from a text on English Citizenship[12] widely used in the secondary schools; doubtless many of its readers could give footnotes from their glimpses of royal ceremonials. There is the great ritual of Coronation; the stately procession to open the Houses of Parliament; presentations of the colors; military and naval reviews; royal visits to towns, factories, hospitals, schools, universities; royal dedication or opening of buildings or parks; royal appeals for charitable and philanthropic funds; and royal proclamations. On June 22, 1911, Fitzroy records in his diary:

> I have seen a second coronation almost from the same spot in the gallery. . . . My general impression was that in the splendour of pageantry and well-ordered movement of a great ceremonial charged with the burden of history, it was superior to the last. . . . Nine eventful years have gone, during which the influence of King Edward and his Ministers have consolidated our relations with Foreign Powers, and the labours of statesmen, both at home and in the Dominions beyond the seas, have brought nearer to accomplishment the idea of a united whole bound together by an intangible but no less sovereign tie. . . . For the first time since the days when the Plantagenets dreamed of a Western Empire, we have upon the throne a King who has visited the uttermost parts of his Dominions and been nurtured in the idea of the great destiny awaiting Imperial Britain. . . . In the elaborate ritual, with its reminiscences of medieval consecration and knightly investiture, there was both in form and substance a sealing of the Sovereign with the "Spirit of Promise."

A different observer, writing in a socialist weekly,[13] remarks:

> As I sit now in St. James' Park it is all over. The Guards are just tramping up the Mall towards Buckingham Palace to the strains of

> pipes and beating drums. The Queen and Princess Mary went by a few moments ago, bowing and smiling to the cheering crowds that line the route. All the gay, dignified spectacle is over in the great square of the Horse Guards, which looks so Russian at night, large, black and deserted, lit only by little gleaming lanterns, but which today, full, brilliant, and alive in the bright morning light, was only and wholly British; all is over and the crowds are streaming west to catch a last glimpse of the Palace itself. From the scene behind Whitehall itself I for one come with very mixed feelings. The crowd cheered . . . . and admired the colour and precision of it all, as the troops went steadily by in solid phalanxes and with bayonets flashing in the sun. The King and Queen are out there on the balcony at Buckingham Palace now and the crowds are cheering. But did no one trouble to ask what flashing steel is for? . . . . And yet after all it was a grand sight! One can easily forget, and there's magic in the air and a devilish lilt as the bands go by! Heavy banners move slowly in the wind, a sea of gold and scarlet, black, steel, and white is going by, all in the sunshine of a bright June morning. It is only afterwards one begins to think!

Of the crowd on Armistice Day, 1918, when the news of cessation of hostilities reached London, Fitzroy remarks,[14] "The instinct of the crowds that lost no time in wending their way to Buckingham Palace was at least sound in the call it made to the Sovereign to share and express their emotions, and should satisfy some that revolution in this country is not likely to be directed against the Crown." The moving service at the Cenotaph each year on Armistice Day is attended by royalty and leaders in church and state.

Beyond these more direct influences of monarchy upon national and imperial sentiment is the twilight zone of social prestige and leadership. There is great space in the newspapers and illustrated journals devoted to the royal family; crowds gather to see them when they make public appearances; and in the inner circles of "society" conduct and dress are affected by the standards which the Court favors.[15] Society and politics, indeed, are intermingled. There is a regular succession of events throughout the year which includes racing, grouse shooting, yachting at Cowes, the return to town, hunting, the Riviera or Switzerland, and town again until Parliament is "up," the "Courts" and Buckingham Palace garden parties over. Royalty participates in much of this. It may make horse racing more fashionable in one generation; it may bring football finals within the charmed circle in another; frown upon bobbed hair, rebuke the scattering of lunch boxes in the public parks, welcome American lawyers on a junket to London, entertain at Balmoral uncrowned monarchs of Europe. The births, marriages, and deaths of royalty are matters of the greatest interest to people in the humblest circumstances. No important public fund is started without royal patronage. When the funeral of Queen Alexandra was held, for a three-month period the nation went into mourning, while during the period of funeral ceremonies all public functions were canceled and mourning clothes were adopted even by the flower girls. The ceremonies were impressive—the long lines of guards, reversed arms; battalions of soldiers, sailors, air-force cadets, with the casket on a gun carriage following; the King and the Princes walking behind the body, and after them many other kings and princes of foreign states, and high dignitaries. Until far into the night thousands of people filed past the body as it lay in state in the Abbey.

This public interest goes farther; letters are published in journals in which suggestions are made that members of the royal family might visit some neglected corner of the empire which has not yet been favored with a royal tour, or, to stimulate emigration, a royal prince is urged to go out to one of the dominions. The *Spectator* suggests that the Prince, returned from his travels, may now throw himself into some worthy public cause; others lament his reluctance to give up dangerous riding. Apparently there are many people who get some color and romance in life from following the fortunes of the royal family, and secure a vicarious excitement and greatness from reading about them and seeing them in the movies. "When Princess Mary visits the Clydebank," states a writer in the *Outlook* (June 11, 1927), "to launch the 'Canberra,' her welcome on the part of the workers is so spontaneous and sincere that it disproves the fantastic doctrines to which the elected representatives of the Clydeside so often give utterance in Parliament." The national anthem is "God Save the King," and in the national church prayers are said for the royal family. Tradesmen take pride in appointment as His Majesty's place of shopping. Emigrants setting out to the colonies under the auspices of an imperial society may receive a letter of good wishes from the King or a farewell address from the Prince of Wales. A Labour minister will treasure a book given him by the King and inscribed in the King's hand; a Labour member whose life has been spent in organizing farm laborers will cherish a few kind words of the King and Queen at a Buckingham Palace garden party.

The heads of the older and more famous houses of the peerage participate in many civic ceremonies of the localities with which they are associated. Their presence on committees heading public enterprises is often sought to lend distinction and prestige; and their doings have "news value," as anyone who looks over the pages of the illustrated magazines soon realizes. The late Marquess of Curzon in his will left a statement concerning the landed aristocracy:

> It is from no motives of pride or vanity that I desire to keep the Kedleston estate intact, and the mansion with its contents well cared for; but because attaching, as I do, a high value to the survival of the landed aristocracy of Great Britain, and believing that they may still continue to be a source of stability to the state, I desire that my family, which has owned and resided at Kedleston for over 800 years, shall continue to live there and maintain the traditions of a not unworthy past. I have sought to assist my successors in doing this with dignity, but without extravagance.

While the aristocracy may no longer shed quite the glamor which would appear from a reading of *Sybil*, *Coningsby*, or *Lothair*, nevertheless one finds members of the peerage serving on most of the executive boards of the various organizations which I discuss in later chapters. The *London Morning Post* of July 25, 1925, contained a most interesting description of the celebrations attendant upon the coming of age of Lord Ramsay.

> The principal events will be a dinner and dance at Brechin Castle, Folkestone, on the 4th of August, where a number of presentations will be made to Lord Ramsey, including a gun and case from the tenantry, a piece of plate from the inhabitants of Brechin, and a sporting rifle from the employees. On Thursday, the 6th of August, a garden party will be held at Brechin Castle, at which about 800 guests will be present. The celebrations will be continued at Panmure House, Carnoustie, on Tuesday the 11th of August, with a dinner and dance. The Panmure tenants will present a gun and gun case, and the employees on the estate a salmon rod. The tenants on the Dalhousie estate, in Midlothian, are giving Lord Ramsay a gold cigarette case, an ox hide suit case and a set of silver-mounted brushes.

Sir Almeric Fitzroy observes (July 3, 1911):

> One or two incidents connected with the Coronation have come to my knowledge. No small stir was created among a section of the Countesses by the intrusion among their number of a mere Baroness. She had learnt that some one would not occupy her place, and proceeded to

thrust herself into it, to the indignation of the ladies in the vicinity. Lady Rosse, whom I met at dinner tonight, was an eye-witness of the transaction, and blamed the Gold Stick officer for his negligence or supineness in allowing an obvious intruder to usurp a place to which she had no claim.

We have noted that the peerage has been recruited afresh within a century from representatives of groups who have acquired economic and social power. This feature sometimes misleads the casual observer, who may assert that high society is no longer what it used to be. In fact, "it never was"; for the Crown has always rewarded success from the days when the Tudors gave favors to the Cecils which we may believe were well earned. Despite the attacks which continue to be made upon the House of Lords as a legislative body, the members of the peerage continue to hold a position of economic and social power and prestige which makes their presence on boards, councils, and business committees sought after; while in political canvassing, the garden party at a great house has obvious uses. It is not an accident that so many British ambassadors and viceroys are titled persons, nor does constitutional law account entirely for so strong a representation from the House of Lords in Cabinets. President Lowell says:[16]

> Society in England is a national institution. It is not a collection of separate groups in different places, but a single body with ramifications all over the country, and a central meeting ground in London during the season. Unlike the other classes in the community, which are local, society is universal. Its members have an extraordinarily wide acquaintance with one another from one end of the land to the other. They are connected by marriage, by early association at the public schools and at Oxford or Cambridge, and they are brought constantly together by entertainments in the capital, and visits at country houses. Such a constitution gives to society great solidity and great influence, without the narrowness and rigidity that attends a purely hereditary class.

The appearance of the Labour party upon this scene has inevitably caused some strain. Middle class Liberals were assimilated easily; and indeed complaints were made from a section of that party that social influence was too strong in the Asquith Cabinet. The same process of absorption can be seen at work in the "right wing" section of the Labour party, and as a result bitter criticism has come from the "left." When the members of the Labour Cabinet (and their wives) were found to accept with apparent enjoyment the dress and ceremonials which had been traditional in Court society, open criticism was expressed by the members who assumed that this situation was one which the party was to destroy. Labour members of local councils have refused to participate in ceremonies incident to royal visits. On the other hand there are those members of the party who hold that greater effort is needed to establish a social life among the party members in London which will attract young men and women as the salons of the older parties have in the past.[17] On July 1, 1921, Sir Almeric Fitzroy recorded a conversation which reveals the subtle forces which are so important in British social-political life.

> In the great picture-gallery at Buckingham Palace, surrounded by the coruscations of one of the most brilliant phases of pictorial art, I had the opportunity of gleaning from Lord Lee the thoughts that were at the back of his mind in conferring upon the nation, in trust for the occupation of her Prime Ministers, the splendid house of Chequers. Looking upon the future with a vision that drew from the contemplation of the past a sense of the tradition which had for generations insensibly moulded English statesmanship, he saw that in the ranks of Prime Ministers to come there would be many who, by the circumstances of their birth and training, would not have the advantage of that tradition. He had thence the dream—who will deny it the potency of a living force?—that by placing them in a house which commemorated the impulse of attachment to the soil, of natural liberty, and the beauty of an ordered excellence in civic life, much would be done to give a bent to emotion and a shape to policy which might be fruitful, while preserving the instinct of popular freedom, to connect it with the hallowed memories of a stately and remote association. He had already—such was his implication—seen the effect of these ideas on the mobile and impressionable spirit of the present Prime Minister [Mr. Lloyd George].

So powerful is the lure of social rank and the opportunity to be among the governing classes (degenerating into "snobbery") that we must still reckon the social and ceremonial influence of the Court and of the peerage (and the groups closest to these inner circles) as a nationalizing rather than disruptive force. One is not blind to the fact of criticism and even hatred among a section of the working-class; but it is that section in which other critical views of the present order are found, and the causes (which are explored later) are partly unrelated to this situation. For there have been such criticisms before; nevertheless this social system has continued to assimilate successive invasions of new leaders from the fields of economic life and politics. The real danger lies rather in the breakdown of economic institutions in such a way that there is a profound break with the past. But apart from this, the influence of society is stronger in its absorption of new forces than the criticism of the disaffected in undermining the system.

Beyond the ceremonials and social influences which mark the rôle of Court and "High Society" as symbols of the nation there are the innumerable ceremonies of local governments, universities and schools, churches and other societies. One recalls the Armistice Day ceremony at Whitehall in which the King participates;[18] similarly there are services all over Britain in towns and villages, with the minute silence. There are popular military "tattoos" in which the armed forces give a dramatic representation of the British nation at war or preparing for war; ancient and colorful practices such as the mounting of guards at Buckingham Palace or at Stirling or Edinburgh Castle, the Beafeaters at the Tower, special services for regiments at cathedrals. In Parliament are various practices of great antiquity and related to earlier exciting episodes in the national history—the placing of the Great Mace, the approach of the "Black Rod," the search of the cellars by the Beafeaters before the opening of Parliament, the call of "who goes home?"[19] In the local boroughs the Lord Mayor and Council will have a Sunday in which they attend church in a body, while in London the "Lord Mayor's Show" is famous,[20] and the Guildhall Banquet which follows is the scene of much civic splendor. The opening of the Courts, the announcement of the results of election contests in Parliamentary constituencies, the announcement, at the Royal Exchange, of the fixing of a new discount rate, the welcome by a borough to a distinguished visitor and the conferring of the freedom of the city upon him are other examples of the dramatization of citizenship. The special uniforms of various services and societies recall ancient civic customs.

It would be curious if all sorts of queer privileges and posts were not claimed and accepted in such a city as London, with its rights of ancient lights, its sale of sites on 999 years' leases, and the fact that in London today, if you search for it, you can find, worn as a regular costume, not as fancy dress, some costume of nearly every period from the reign of Henry VII to that of Queen Victoria. The Lord Chancellor's robes date at least from Henry VII; the Yeoman of the Guard from

Henry VIII; the Blue-coat boy's costume is that of a servitor of Edward VI; bishops and City councillors look much the same in prints of Elizabeth's reign.[21]

University ceremonies have become much alike the world over. Yet it requires a volume to do justice to the meaning of an Oxford or Cambridge degree ceremony, so overlaid is each word and each portion of robe or hood with historic meaning. In the cathedrals great civic events—victories, the burials of national heroes—are given an appropriate recognition; the prayer book, indeed, is a national prayerbook, and its ritual essentially the same wherever in the empire a service is held. The prayers, the hymns, heard first, perhaps, in a school chapel and later wherever one may enter an Anglican church, inevitably associate themselves with the national story and set the institution and its members off from those of other countries. For the dissenting sects have drawn greatly from the Established Church and are themselves a branch of it historically, while the Roman Catholics may see it as once a part of their own society and with the marks of its earlier history still upon it. The tenets of the Church of Scotland leave less room for ceremony and ritual; but its hymns and phrases also summon up the recollection of the national life, all the more impressively, perhaps, since so much of that life found its fullest expression at one time through that institution.

There are, finally, those partly spontaneous and half-unorganized ceremonies—the placing of flowers at the Nelson monument on Trafalgar day and (less unorganized, perhaps) the primroses before Disraeli's statue on his birthday, and the formalities of ancient gilds or local societies. Thus through the impressive ritual surrounding the King and Parliament, the Lord Mayor, the Judge and the Bishop, the military, naval, or political leader, and the City Company, the fact of long-established national power and greatness, and the episodes of a colorful national history are brought home to masses of citizens. Through the interconnections of a governing society that includes within its scheme a landed aristocrat with a successful merchant or a rising labor politician a sense of a long established order of people and things is purveyed.

The London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* writes:[22]

> On Wednesday the Lord Mayor, as High Admiral of the Port of London was piped up the gangway of the Blue Star liner Arandora, ly-

ing at the Royal Albert Docks. It must have been centuries ago since the admiral's pipe, a long wail with a short break in the middle, was heard in the port. The historical right of the Lord Mayor to be an admiral was admitted at the time of the Victory processions of the Mercantile Marine on the Thames. . . . . It was a proper occasion for the revival of that dignity, because the Blue Star Line, a very modern steamship company which Lord Vesty and his parents brought into existence in 1911 to bring the chilled beef of their company to London, has its fleet of 200,000 tons at Tilbury. It was a romantic sight today to see the mace-bearer in his gorgeous costume, followed by the sword-bearer with his fur cap, like a figure from Rembrandt, and the Lord Mayor in his red gown and chain of office, followed by two other councillors in red gowns, coming up the steep gangway to the sound of the bo's'n's whistle.

Thus is new commerce linked with old ceremony.

NOTES

1. Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (2d ed.; London, 1878), pp. 3, 33.

2. Sidney Low, *The Governance of England,* new ed., London, 1913; Graham Wallas, *Our Social Heritage,* New Haven, 1921. There are useful discussions of the monarchy in A. L. Lowell, *The Government of England,* New York, 1908; and in J. A. Farrar's *The Monarchy in Politics,* London, 1917; in *British Politics in Transition,* E. M. Sait and D. P. Barrows have brought together some useful documents on recent developments of the monarchy, pp. 1–23 (Yonkers, 1925). There are interesting Labour views of this question in the Webbs's *Constitution of the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain* and J. H. Thomas' *When Labour Rules.*

3. Wallas, *op. cit.,* p. 227.

4. *Ibid.,* p. 229.

5. See Wallas, *op. cit.,* pp. 231–35; the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, *Fifty Years of British Parliament,* Vol. II, chaps. xxiii–xxvii; see also note 18, chap. ii, and Sait and Barrows, *op. cit.;* and the *New Leader,* May 27, 1927, for selections from the diary of Sir Henry Wilson.

6. Sir Almeric Fitzroy, *Memoirs* (New York, 1926), entry of August 8, 1911.

7. June 16, 1914.

8. June 19, 1921.

9. The comment of Mr. J. H. Thomas in his *When Labour Rules* is interesting because of his position in the Labour movement and the fact that he was Colonial Secretary in the Labour Cabinet. "There has been no factor which has contributed more to the unity of the Empire than the Prince of Wales's visit to the Dominions. . . . . I have met many people who were present at some of the colonial receptions to the Prince, and the universal opinion is that he has, by his clean bearing and unassuming manner, won the hearts of all. . . . . No question of Republicanism as a serious proposition ever finds a place in Labour discussions." The Webbs remark *(op. cit.)* that "No one has yet been able to suggest any practicable way in which the congeries of races, religions and civilizations that we call the British Empire could either do without a titular head, or obtain one by popular election among 400 millions of people." The *London Times,* commenting in its leader of July 18, 1925, on the Prince of Wales in South Africa

remarked: "The moment is opportune . . . . to congratulate the Royal missioner upon his part. . . . . Enthusiasm is too hackneyed a word to explain the temper with which he has been hailed at every point of his long progress. . . . . After the famous Parliamentary dinner in Cape Town, at which the Prince talked about the 'British Commonwealth' and brought home to his Nationalist hearers that the King is as much and as immediately their King as he is our English King at home, and closed his speech with a few sentences in Africaans, the famous ex-Boer stalwart who was to escort him into Bloemfontein declared that the ideas of his fellows upon Royalty had been completely changed." The *Spectator,* in an editorial in the issue of August 22, 1925, entitled "The Prince and the Argentine" stated that "Whoever it was who planned the Prince of Wales's visit to South America—very possibly the Prince himself—had a very happy and wise inspiration. . . . . The South American States in general, and the Argentine in particular, are about to enter upon a new and vast epoch of development, and will fill a far bigger place in the world's eye than ever before. That being so they want someone in consequence to introduce them into International Society, and to make the world understand them, and value them at their true worth—not gaze at them as though they were backwoodsmen with an invisible past and a hypothetical future. . . . . Could there be a better person to launch her and her sister states in the *Grand Monde* of the nations than the Prince of Wales. . . . ? Europe hears the Prince's compliments while his suite are taking notes as to the millions of livestock in the great alluvial plain which seems designed by nature to be the Home Farm of civilized man." A British merchant engaged in South American trade was reported in the *Times* some months after the Prince's return as stating that orders for British goods had increased noticeably in that region since the visit of the Prince. Many purposes were thus served by these travels. The *London Observer* noted that the Prince's "only rival as a globe trotter is the King, who by the time he came to the Throne had been six times to Canada, thrice to India and Ceylon, and twice to South Africa and Australia. He had also touched at South America. . . . . The only considerable parts of the Empire he has not seen are East Africa, Uganda, and Nigeria." For an account of the Prince's return home after the South African and South American visits, see the *Times* for October 17, 1925, including the photographs.

10. *Op. cit.,* pp. 236 *et seq.* "But one disadvantage of the monarch as a symbol is that he may behave as a human being as well as a symbol; he may be insane like George III, or self-willed like Victoria. And another disadvantage is that a man who only knows that he has seen and loves the King has not such a useful working idea of his relation to his government as has a man who has learnt the meaning of the words British Commonwealth. . . . . The German social democrats and progressives might have had more influence over German foreign policy before the war if so many Germans had not thought of Britain as an embodiment of the personal 'encircling-policy' of Edward VII." The attacks upon George V made by W. H. Thompson, successful candidate for the mayoralty of Chicago in 1927, will be recalled.

11. This is something of a revival of the idea of a Patriot King advanced by Lord Bolingbroke and refurbished by Conservatives frequently. Lord Hugh Cecil's little book on *Conservatism* will repay reading in this connection, or the writings of the Catholic publicist, Hilaire Belloc (especially *The Monarchy*).

12. Frederic Swann, *English Citizenship* (rev. ed.; London, 1923). The first chapter is on "His Majesty the King." "There is another inalienable prerogative of the Crown, unlimited by statute, and often abused in times past. We refer, of course, to the moral influence which the sovereign can exercise upon his people by setting an example to the whole of society of right living and right doing. Fortunate it is that for nearly a century the weight of the Throne has ever been cast

on the side of what is good. That it may be always thus is the fervent wish of each of us when we raise our glass to the loyal toast of 'the King.' "

13. *The New Leader,* June 10, 1927, "Trooping the Colour," signed by H. R.

14. November 12, 1918, entry.

15. See note 12. Within the period of three months during the late summer and autumn of 1925, I clipped from the newspapers accounts of a great variety of royal activities and interests. Among them I may mention the formal opening of Ken Wood, a new London park, by the King at which he made a speech urging greater care in preventing the leaving of papers and litter about public parks; the death of a person who had been a newsboy protégé of King Edward; the exhibition of the King's microphone; a letter from the Prince of Wales suggesting the possibility of employing British schoolboys on his Canadian ranch to stimulate overseas migration; a letter to the *Spectator* suggesting the settlement overseas of some member of the royal family as an example of empire settlement; a letter from the King's Private Secretary to the famous cricketer, Hobbs, expressing the King's congratulations on a new record high score; the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York to the Norwich Museum at its centenary celebrations; a garden party at Buckingham Palace to invalid ex-service men; the presentation of colors to the Royal Scots regiment at Edinburgh Castle by Princess Mary, the Colonel-in-Chief of the regiment; the attendance of the King and Queen at the Braemar Highland Gathering; the conclusion of the London "season" with the final royal garden parties at Buckingham Palace; and of course the daily communique of the Court which appears in the *Times, Morning Post,* and other papers. The *London Daily Herald* (Labour), however, published on July 16, an article entitled "An Africa the Prince Does Not See" concerning the conditions among "the dusky people who were Africa before we took it from them." On September 11, it published also a news item from a Canadian newspaper criticizing the Prince for permitting his ranch manager in Alberta to stand in a provincial election. The *Spectator* has urged editorially, too, that the Prince devote himself to some great public cause above party lines, and this general attitude may be found in an article in the *London Daily News* for October 24, by A. G. Gardiner, the veteran Liberal journalist. Criticism of the royal family, however, is practically non-existent in the press; and the enormous amount of space given to the death and funeral ceremonies of Queen Alexandra (see the *Times* for November 28, for example) indicates a general interest in royalty, shared by all types of newspapers.

16. Lowell, *op. cit.,* II, 509.

17. This is becoming more emphasized as a larger number of young university men aspire to Parliamentary seats as Labour candidates. This is a marked tendency as Labour becomes more clearly recognized as the most possible alternative to the Conservatives and takes on the respectability of the older parties socially.

18. There is a full account of the Armistice Day celebrations at the Cenotaph in Whitehall in the *Times* for November 12, 1925, with several photographs. There is briefer mention in the same issue of the celebrations at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, and other cities.

19. There is a most interesting account of parliamentary ceremonies and traditions in Michael MacDonough's *The Pageant of Parliament,* London, 1921.

20. See the *Times* for November 10, for accounts of the Lord Mayor's Show of 1925. The keynote was Empire Trade, "as fitting in the case of the City's 'great annual feast,' as Charles Lamb called it." "The Pageant of Empire Trade consisted of cars representing Australia, New Zealand, India, the British West Indies, and British Guiana." Among the wealth of news items describing civic celebrations which I clipped I find the following: the presentation of Borough

Standards of Honour by distinguished peers; the distribution of buns to children who run around St. Bartholomew's Church at Sandwich on this particular occasion; the visit of the Prime Minister to Bewdley, his birthplace, to be made freeman of the borough; a celebration by the Manchester Ship Canal Company at which Lord Mayors of several cities were present; the collection of crowds to see the annual procession of Judges and "silks" at the Law Courts—"the pomp and majesty of the Lord Chancellor and the judges in their robes of black and gold and scarlet and ermine, and the gold man from the House of Lords and the black clad King's counsel, in full bottomed wigs and ruffs and knee breeches, the secretaries of the chief judicial officers in levee dress, swords and all, and the Admiralty Marshal with his silver oar of office over his shoulder,"—the Torchlight Tattoo at Wembley, at which great numbers of the armed forces participated in the pageants, and (quaintest, perhaps, of all) the annual marking of the swans on the Thames of which the *Observer* remarked that "The three swan-markers begin tomorrow their annual journey from Southwark Bridge to Henley to mark the cygnets. The marking, often difficult work, and rounding up of the old birds and their young families, takes a week. There were at the last count about six hundred swans on the river. Roughly speaking, half this number belongs to the King. The remainder is divided, again, roughly, between the Dyers Company and the Vintners'. The King's birds are unmarked, the Dyers' have one nick in the bill, and the Vintners' two. The records have been lost which might have told us how and when and why this division came to be made. All that seems to be known is that, certainly from the date of the Great Fire, and probably long before, these two companies have had from the Crown a grant of 'a game of swans'. . . . ." Of course the colleges and schools are rich in traditional observances. See *By the Clock of St. James'* by Percy Armytage (London, 1927), for state pageantry.

21. See Mr. Bone's *The London Perambulator* (London, 1925), p. 90. This is a delightful study of the capital. In the chapter from which I quote there is a description of a London crowd at the time of the wedding of Princess Mary in which the popular interest in royalty is set forth with great insight and humor. In *The Equipment of the Workers* to which I have already referred, the notes of the investigators reveal how considerable is the popular belief in the importance of the King as actual ruler. In P. H. Ditchfield's *The City Companies of London,* one finds an account of these ancient societies.

22. June 10, 1927.

CHAPTER IV

THE INFLUENCE OF PLACE

"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning." We cannot quite manage to substitute London for Zion in singing psalms, though there are some places in England—Eton, Winchester, Oxford, Cambridge—which do evoke these feelings. . . . . He who loves not his home and country which he has seen, how shall he love humanity in general which he has not seen? There are, after all, few emotions of which one has less reason to be ashamed than the little lump in the throat which the Englishman feels when he first catches sight of the white cliffs of Dover.—DEAN INGE, "Patriotism," in *Outspoken Essays.*

Then, 'twas before my time, the Roman
At yonder heaving hill would stare:
The blood that warms an English yeoman,
The thoughts that hurt him, they were there.—A. E. HOUSMAN, *A Shropshire Lad*

I had been in America for five years, for as long a time as I had spent in Africa; and now, as the swallow turns toward its familiar barn, as the cuckoo turns again to its buttercup pasture, so my heart turned toward England. Before this I had not had the slightest wish to see my own land; but suddenly, in spite of—perhaps because of—all this beauty, my bowels languished for home, I longed for the smell of West Country hedges, for the smell of bramble leaves and dock-leaves and ditch-cool grasses, limp with the soft, enervating odorous dampness of an Island night in June.—LLEWELYN POWYS, *The Verdict of Bridlegoose* (New York, 1926).

They have a most magnificent library, and a chapel bang in the middle of the house. . . . . In a quarter of an hour one learns history by simply walking through these rooms. . . . . It seems to me that people like the Cecils simply cannot help being clever; in each room are pictures of Prime Ministers, etc. Four of their ancesters have been Prime Ministers. . . . . They fairly do teach their children. The Salisbury boy, aged eleven, has read nearly all the family papers. They have a little boy three years old, and I assure you he knows far more English poetry than me.—Riversdale Grenfell, writing of a visit to Hatfield House in a letter to his brother Francis, JOHN BUCHAN, *Francis and Riversdale Grenfell.*

Nothing can be more touching than to see how the working man and woman after generations in the towns will have their tiny bit of garden if they can, to look at something they have never seen as children, but which their ancesters knew and loved.—STANLEY BALDWIN, in *On England.*

Away over the hills was an old Castle with keep, drawbridge (that had gone), family portraits, secret chambers, parchment treasures; and the owner thereof had met us by the way and had said: "You must breakfast with me," and to breakfast we were doomed. The entrance gates opened into meadows golden with buttercups, a church stood sentinel by the moat, from the old stone bridge we saw the sedges and the water lilies. We went under the tower with its embattled gateway and its seats for the sentries, and at the doorway of the grey old house stood our host. . . . . We breakfasted in an oak-paneled room which has memories of the fifteenth century, and smoked in a great portrait-hung hall, the walls of which were of bare chiselled stone. . . . . Then we went through its myriad passages and stairways. This is England of romance. The stairways were worn by the feet of many generations. Here Kings slept, in this cupboard fugitives hid, at this altar men whose memories will live for ever received sacrament. In a great barn-like room at the top a whole regiment slept before Edge Hill, and to a small isolated chamber approached by a secret stairway came John Hampden, John Pym, Sir Harry Vane, Warwick and Essex, to lay their plans. We walked out of fairyland into peace—into the meadow and corn land; along the obscured pathways to the villages, the churches, the inns.—RAMSAY MACDONALD, *Wanderings and Excursions.*

There is no piece of inland water in the world so crowded, so too well known, as this three-spoked lake of the Solent, Spithead, and Southampton Water. . . . . You do not possess that piece of water unless you see moving upon it the fulness of its past. You must see the last tragedy of the Civil Wars: the craft that might have taken Charles away from Southampton to freedom, and his young son cruising with the loyal fleet (which had declared for the King against the oligarchy) cruising just outside the Wight, but unable to save the King at Carisbrooke. You must see . . . . the great ships under full sail making out through Spithead in line for open water. You must see the pirate boats of a thousand years ago stranded on the Bramble, because they did not know the water, and Alfred's men capturing them so, and taking them off to Chichester to be hanged: a proper end for all Vikings. And you must see the great fleet of Roman transports coming in by an August night with a comet in the sky, for the recovery of Britain seceded and turned into a separate realm; the German mercenaries landing and pouring up the Winchester road, and meeting their fellow Germans in battle before London, and the Emperor Theodosius riding up Ludgate Hill in triumph after the usurper's death. Because of its size and security, because of its nearness to Europe, because of its many harbours, and one great harbour, this patch of water has been packed with history as no other in Britain, except London River; and now in our time the great London Dock Strike, more than thirty years ago, has brought Southampton Water back to the mass of modern traffic, and made it the great port of entry from the West.—HILAIRE BELLOC, *The Cruise of the Nona.*

There seems to have set in in our times a struggle between swift communication and the stability of home and old association. The modern patron, fresh from his travels in quaint and romantic regions of the world or turning from the study of illustrated journals can order up from the architect plans for a house in a medley of styles. Perhaps an Italian villa appealed to him (or his wife) as the kind of thing they would like for their country house; but then there was that quaint farmhouse in Brittany, and the hall with tiles in Constantinople and the teak paneling of a palace in Singapore. It is not impossible that all of these things may appear in due course in portions of the building, and much more besides. For if ideas, and plans and pictures have made the world smaller, so has modern transport brought materials to the wealthy builder from every region.

Once it was not so. Localities were circumscribed by the difficulties of transportation to materials at hand—the stone of the Cotswolds, the clay for Flemish brick, the wood for the New England farmhouse. Local builders fixed, before steel and concrete appeared, a peculiar style in their product. Local games and celebrations, stories and songs could develop and become imbedded in the lore of the region behind the protection of isolation. As speed and ease of travel have flung down these barriers, and a growing standardization of product follows large scale production, we turn to the escape and release of these old communities; and the British, perhaps stimulated by the delight of the American in seeking out those corners of the old countries which supply what a new country must wait its centuries for, are stirring to protect and foster the cultural heritage of place and association.[1]

Mr. Baldwin remarks in an address:

There could have been no more typical English surroundings in which to cherish the earliest memories. I remember as a child looking up the river from the bridge into that mysterious and romantic land of Shropshire, so close to us, from which my people came only three generations before, and watching the smoke of the train running along the little railway through places bearing names like Wyre Forest, Cleobury Mortimer, Neen Sollars and Tenbury—names steeped in romance and redolent of the springtime of an England long ago passed, but whose heritage is ours. Those names must have been familiar to Langland as he lay on the slopes of the Malvern Hills while the great poem of Piers Plowman shaped itself in his brain. I remember, too, the thrill of names like The Welch Gate and The Warden of the Marches, which brought back to me even in childhood days the fact that Bewdley . . . . was one of the most important towns in the great Marches separating Wales from England. . . . . There were memories, too, of the long-forgotten strife between Welsh and English, of Ludlow, where the big castle still stood, and of Woodbury Hill where Owen Glendower came before the great fight beneath its slope, as the result of which the homes of English and Welsh have lain in common ground for five centuries. And one has seen how warfare may yield to peace.

Perhaps the one person most sensitive to the countryside and the town in Britain, and all the historical associations which can be summoned for each place and building, was Henry James. Much of this is distilled in his *English Hours.* He writes there:

> I scarcely know how to speak of the little voyage from Westminster Bridge to Greenwich. It initiates you into the duskiness, the blackness, the crowdedness, the intensely commercial character of London. Few European cities have a finer river than the Thames, but none certainly has expended more ingenuity in producing a sordid river-front. For miles and miles you see nothing but the sooty backs of warehouses. . . . . A damp-looking, dirty blackness is the universal tone. . . . . But it is very impressive in spite of its want of lightness and brightness, and though it is ugly it is anything but trivial. Like so many of the aspects of English civilizaton that are untouched by elegance or grace, it has the merit of expressing something very serious. . . . . It sounds rather absurd, but all this smutty detail may remind you of nothing less than the wealth and power of the British Empire at large; so that a kind of metaphysical magnificence hovers over the scene, and supplies what may be literally wanting. I don't exactly understand the association, but I know that when I look off to the left at the East India Docks, or pass under the dark hugely-piled bridges, where the railway trains and the human processions are forever moving, I feel a kind of imaginative thrill. The tremendous piers of the bridges, in especial, seem the very pillars of the empire aforesaid.

And again:

> One had no need of being told that this is a conservative county (Warwickshire); the fact seemed written in the hedgerows and in the verdent acres behind them. Of course the owners of these things were conservative; of course they were stubbornly unwilling to see the harmonious edifice of their constituted, convenient world the least bit shaken. I had a feeling, as I went about, that I should find some very ancient and curious opinions still comfortably domiciled in the fine old houses whose clustered gables and chimneys appeared here and there, at a distance, above their ornamental woods. Imperturbable British Toryism, viewed in this vague and conjectural fashion—across the fields and behind the oaks and beeches—is by no means a thing the irresponsible stranger would wish away; it deepens the very colour of the air; it may be said to be the style of the landscape.

Law and administration, commerce and communication, religious and educational institutions have brought old provinces and districts within the general currents of British life. Yet there is, perhaps paradoxically, the deep root of the locality which contributes through each individual toward the ultimate flower of national sentiment. "The style of the landscape," the local civic center or monument or parish church, help to make the boy or girl apprehend a way of life, a sense of their surroundings, which will be peculiar. The urchin from "across the bridges" of South London will feel the strange depression of a foreigner if he finds himself in the City or the East End; the ways of Somerset will not be the ways of Cornwall or of Kent. And the much more they will not be the ways of France or Germany or Canada.[2]

The artist, perhaps, distorts in transmitting to paper or canvas the things which his sensitive imagination helps him find. Yet he may guide us, too. When we find the novelist, for example, revealing a sense of a region, a recognition of the influence of place, we need not reject this experience because it is so much a heightening of the experience of ordinary folk. The association of British novelists and poets with particular regions is simply a striking example of what with most citizens is a less flamboyant characteristic. So one may illustrate the extent of regional loyalties and influences by a reference to some well-known modern writers in Great Britain.

If we begin with southeast, we find Belloc, Kipling, and Sheila Kaye-Smith writing about Sussex. In one of his poems Belloc writes of homesickness for the South Country which comes to him when in the North; Kipling, not always the Imperialist we assume, has stories and verse (notably in *Puck of Pook's Hill*) which are filled with the tang of Sussex trees, downs, and ways. To the west, Hardy's country is as real as the guidebooks, and indeed his novels serve admirably to introduce the reader to Dorset, while some scenes in the *Dynasts* are taken from the everyday life of Dorset villages.[3] In Devon, Phillpots has secured materials for novels and plays, and to the southwest, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch is a kind of literary patron saint of Cornwall.[4] In Fowey, appropriately enough for the author of *The Delectable Duchy* and *Troy Town*, the bookstore displays great stacks of his volumes which the visitor invariably selects from as a proper memento of his stay there. Kingsley might be claimed in some measure by North Devon, and certainly the town of Bideford is proud of his statue there and the room in which he wrote *Westward Ho*—sufficient pride is taken, indeed, to give the name of the novel to the nearby golf center. Modern Wales looks somewhat askance at Caradoc Evans, and loyal Welshmen of a kind have hooted his play *Taffy* in the London theater because it was claimed to be unjust. Yet he is concerned with the region and the people, however mistaken his judgments may be. Francis Brett Young has written of Welsh borders. A. E. Housman's *A Shropshire Lad* is famous.[5] Bennett has made the Five Towns of the midlands as famous as Wedgwood pottery. Farther to the north, Brighouse has portrayed Lancashire people in his plays, and in Scotland, George A. Brown found the place and the people of his precursor to *Main Street*, *The House With the Green Shutters.* In part this was a reaction to other pictures of the same region by Barrie, Stevenson, and others.[6] Returning south, Rupert Brooke's affection for Cambridgeshire is most overt in *Grantchester*, while Masefield's *Reynard the Fox* is steeped in love of the hunting countryside. London has innumerable contemporary novelists and poets.[7] There are Wells, Gissing, Bennett again, Chesterton's *Napoleon of Notting Hill*, Thomas Burke and studies of particular strata of society such as those portrayed by Galsworthy, Sir Harry Johnston, and many others. In addition to these novels and poems there are constantly appearing new travel and descriptive writings of places and regions. The Bones's recent *The London Perambulator* is an example. These writings are designed not only for the visitor to the region; frequently, indeed, they are much too elaborate for guidebooks.[8] Their appeal is partly to the inhabitants of Cornwall or Norfolk or whatever region is described, and it is an appeal directly to the civic interest, in the widest sense, of the very considerable groups who are consciously loyal to their province and its antiquities and beauties.

In recent years a wider loyalty has been expressed through the writings of imperial travelers. Kipling was probably the earliest of these with his stories and poems of Indian civil-servant society. More recently are such novels as those of Sir Harry Johnston, Francis Brett Young, *The Further Side of Silence* by Sir Hugh Clifford, and in a different vein *A Passage to India* by Forster. There are also innumerable travel books and memoirs constantly pouring from the press which reveal the extended interest in overseas places. From Blunt's *Diaries* to accounts of hunting expeditions in the Canadian Rockies these reveal the new interests of an old long-settled people. But the mass of people are fundamentally attached to the soil and sweep of countryside of a particular region.

One notes the fact that most contemporary writers are concerned, so far as place is important, with places other than modern industrial towns.[9] At an earlier time, when these towns were in the making, this was not entirely so. Then the clash of social forces which the growth of industrial towns revealed in English life was reflected in such writings as Mrs. Gaskell's *North and South,* Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley,* and Disraeli's *Coningsby* and *Sybil.* Later the interest in Chartist agitation and Christian Socialism is reflected by Kingsley, and more recently the similar struggles of today have been expressed by James Welch and Patrick McGill, in one or two novels of Brett Young's, and by Galsworthy and Wells. But it is broadly true that popular affections seem to be (quite naturally) attached to the countryside of a particular region and to its places of civic and historic and scenic importance.

Attachment to home is very strong in England throughout all classes. The objective evidence for this is to be found not only in the memoirs of persons in the "upper classes," memoirs such as Lubbock's *Earlham,* or in the affection of Harcourt for Nuneham or Lord Grey for his country life, or of George Cadbury for his Birmingham suburb. One finds in the autobiographies of Labour members and trade-union leaders the same attachments. A case in point is Robert Smillie, who hates London and parliamentary life and is always anxious to get home to his Larkhall cottage. A glance over the brief biographical sketches in the *Herald Hand Book of Labour Members* will reveal the frequent reference to the love of gardening, the fondness for the well-stocked library at home, the delight in walks in the country which are sufficiently marked in many members as to warrant comment by a journalist. A very interesting example of this deeply rooted affection or at least attachment to place is supplied by the controversy in the East End of London during the summer of 1925, over the proposal to destroy a group of ancient condemned dwellings and replace them by blocks of six-storied flats. Although the buildings had been declared unsanitary by the health officer, and the practice of keeping pigeons and chickens and of drying fish in the backyards criticized for the same reason, the dwellers of the area protested so vigorously at the hearings that a small riot ensued. They declared that generations of their family had dwelt there and followed the same practices and that they were healthy.[10] Mr. Chesterton, in his weekly, seized this opportunity for expounding further his idea of family life and the necessity for a distributist society in which property would be widely owned.[11] Again, when in Newcastle-on-Tyne, the Minister of Health viewed some of the wretched slums on the hillside above the river with the local officials. A good housewife asserted from her doorway that they should never take her house! Garden city planners report on the difficulty of interesting dwellers in the most inadequate of crowded urban areas in moving out to garden cities.

Other evidence of this influence of place upon the civic sense is supplied by the many official and semi-official organizations for preserving places of civic interest. The Crown, through the Department of Works, holds and cares for many buildings and places of civic interest and undertakes to describe such places in different regions. There are Royal Commissions on Historical Monuments for England, Scotland, and Wales, all of which publish elaborate and finely illustrated books.[12] These are the work of scholars. It is the business of these commissions to make inventories of places of historic importance which may illustrate or be connected with contemporary culture, civilization, or the conditions of life of the people. There is, in the Office of Works, a Department of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings whose duty it is to preserve and care for such places as are intrusted to it by the Crown. In addition it publishes descriptive pamphlets of these places.

The Act of 1913 confers powers also upon local authorities to hold and preserve local places of civic importance. There is a fairly healthy interest in some sections in this work, although, of course, at present, the problem of economy prevents many projects from being undertaken. Allied to this is the practice of the London County Council in attaching medallions with brief notices to houses in London where famous men have lived, and the publishing of descriptive pamphlets of these places. The London Municipal Society points with pride to its successful opposition to the proposal of Labour members of the Council that such a plate should be placed upon the London house in which Karl Marx lived at one time. Certainly most selections appear eminently respectable—Darwin, Dickens, Disraeli, Brougham, etc. One finds children in a civics class making studies of their boroughs and including the location of such houses in their studies. It is obvious that the placing of these medallions with the name of the person and the dates concerned in his stay at the house tends to stimulate civic interest and patriotic pride. A similar practice is to be found in other centers, and the guidebooks for any region refer one to places of interest which are maintained by localities or by the Office of Works. Perhaps the most outstanding of these places are the Tower of London and Edinburgh and Stirling Castles—the last two being maintained of necessity under the terms of the Act of Union along with Dumbarton Castle on the Clyde. The castles at Stirling and Edinburgh are exceedingly romantic and stimulating of civic interest, as they are garrisoned and the drills and guard mounts add color and ceremony.

Every local area has its monuments. It may be ancient Celtic crosses, or prehistoric mounds and stone altars; it may be ancient forts such as those which guard the Fal at Falmouth and St. Mawes; it may be the ancient manor as near Ludlow, or a religious house as in Exeter; a great white horse cut in the sod down to the chalk, as in the Abingdon Vale and described in *Tom Brown's School Days;* at York, Roman and medieval ruins; ancient castles scattered through North and South England; in fact every kind of dwelling or place, including old ships such as the "Victory."[13] Local museums and societies carry on this work, as do certain great national societies. In Truro, the pleasant little capital of Cornwall, is the Royal Institution of Cornwall in which there is a very ancient tin ingot that is reputed to have been taken from the Cornish mines by the Phoenecians; and there are also things of interest there from all ages, down to modern paintings. In Exeter the ancient Guild Hall is still in use; a family may preserve and also open its treasures to the public, as do the Norfolks at Arundell Castle; in York the York Philosophical Society, a hundred years old, preserves the Roman wall and ruins and relics, as well as medieval religious places and a great variety of objects in its grounds and museums; the Society of London Antiquaries seeks to protect such things in London and also throughout the country. A small town like Newbury has its museum with objects going back to prehistoric times.[14]

The work of the Church of England is especially important in preserving places of religious interest. Sometimes this is done after appeals for aid in financing work of preservation are made not only to England and her Dominions but also America.[15] Every parish church, one is tempted to say, is a lesson in civic interest in itself. It is still the place for posting official notices; its walls are covered with memorials to men of the parish who have died in the service of state on sea and land all over the world during the past five hundred years. Its very fabric frequently reveals the work of builders back to Norman and sometimes to Saxon times. Within the cathedrals there may be chapels commemorating persons or groups which awaken or stimulate patriotic and civic interest, such as the chapels dedicated to regiments as at York, or the memorials at St. Giles, Edinburgh. Of course the Abbey at Westminster is the supreme Valhalla, crowded as it is with monuments of soldiers and sailors, scientists and poets and writers as well as great clerics. St. Paul's is the only secondary. Yet every region, however remote, has its own shrines sometimes more poignant. Even the merchant and ferry vessels (as for example in Liverpool) which saw service in the war have their appropriate service records of some kind. And at Glasgow, one of the most interesting of the sections of the museum is devoted to models of ships, chiefly built upon the Clyde.[16]

There are four national societies whose work is important in the preservation of places of civic importance. The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings was organized in 1877 when its manifesto, written by William Morris, set forth its objectives. It aims to preserve ancient buildings and to prevent, in that preservation, a false "restoration" of them. It seeks to arouse opinion in favor of preservation of such ancient buildings of interest as may be threatened with destruction, to supply competent advice to those who are proposing to restore old buildings in their possession, and, on occasion to raise funds for and undertake the restoration of ancient buildings of importance. Generalizing broadly one may say that it appeals in part on the basis of historic and traditional and romantic interest which people may have in old buildings, but also, as the names of its founders indicate, to aesthetic interests. It has waged a campaign lately against the destruction of Waterloo Bridge.

The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty (called briefly "The National Trust") was organized in 1895. By the National Trust Act of 1907 it was empowered to hold for the public good places of historic or architectural interest and of striking natural beauty. Half of its Council is elected by learned societies and kindred societies in the country, half by its own members who are subscribers to its funds. Its declared objects are to be found in the following:

> The members of the National Trust feel that it is increasingly important that active steps should be taken to preserve such links with the England of the past as exist in our older buildings, and to keep undisturbed areas of peculiar natural beauty. A world without beauty is a world without hope; and as beautiful surroundings tend towards the moral elevation of man, so historic surroundings lead to intellectual development. . . . . The National Trust aims generally at impressing these views upon the public, and in particular at assisting in a practical way to realise its ideals by offering its machinery as a corporate body willing to undertake the duties of landowner, pledged to preserve, as far as possible, the interesting or beautiful features of its scenery.

It has aided in saving various places of beauty and interest and now holds almost one hundred places. The public interest which it stimulates is evidenced by the campaign undertaken by the Trust for the purchase of the Ashridge estate. A letter to the *Times* signed by the Prime Minister and two of his predecessors launched the appeal. There are forty-four affiliated local archeological, natural science, and similar societies.[17]

The Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society is the oldest organization devoted to the preservation of open spaces. It was founded in 1865, growing out of efforts to prevent the inclosure of commons for building and other purposes and to keep such commons and pathways open to the public. Due to its efforts and to those of like-minded citizens, such famous areas as Hampstead

Heath, Wimbledon Common, the Epping Forest, and many others were saved for open spaces. They had been neglected as agricultural land, but the growth of London caused them to be exceedingly valuable for suburban building-sites. By research into ancient laws and charters and decisions, the Society sought to establish legal claims of the local communities and the public to use. It may be recalled that Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (who, by the way, is a member of the society) has in his novel *The Hound of the Baskervilles* a character who devotes his time and money to litigation, chiefly the defense of ancient rights to footpaths. The society undertakes such work. A recent report cites the following business during the previous two years: 256 cases affecting commons, fuel allotments, disused burial grounds, and other open spaces; 873 cases of disputed footpaths and roadways; 21 foreshore, fishing, and boating cases; 26 open space schemes. It also dealt with 60 private bills in Parliament which threatened to interfere with commons and rights of way. It arbitrates with landlords and local authorities concerning disputes over paths. The interest of English citizens in walking and cycling and in general in outdoor recreation renders this work of considerable importance, especially with the growth of cities and the heavy motor traffic on main roads.

The fourth of the national societies mentioned here is the Scapa Society,[18] founded in 1893 to prevent the abuses or to check the abuses of public advertising. It was instrumental in securing the passage of the Advertisements Regulation Act of 1925 which has this purpose; it seeks to arouse public opinion through the press and public meetings against the marring of the natural beauties of landscapes or the "artistic interest and dignity of picturesque villages." It has negotiated with business firms for general disarmament in outdoor advertising and with local authorities. This society has quarters in the same building with the two previously mentioned, and all four societies here discussed work in close collaboration with one another and with the government departments concerned in these matters.

National sentiment for the preservation of ancient buildings and of the amenities of the countryside is illustrated by recent events. One is the formation of a council representative of many societies, among them those here described, to secure united action for the protection of old country cottages and rural dwellings. This is in part a reaction against the ugliness of the newer houses which are being built, and in part to relieve the wretched housing conditions of some districts by the careful restoration of the old thatched cottages which have fallen into decay. The other is the outcry in the press against the transportation of old buildings to America by wealthy American purchasers. A few old country houses with their grounds are being given to public corporations or societies for purposes of public recreation or institutional use; others are being taken over by schools. While some have pointed out that there is an advantage in the preservation overseas of buildings that have been permitted to fall into ruin at home, and that they may exercise a subtle influence upon the people in the newer country, others have displayed a fierce resentment that the national poverty or indifference should be taken advantage of by foreigners. This same sentiment is displayed at the sale of art treasures to foreign —especially American—buyers, and the implication naturally is that it is sheer wealth, and never genuine appreciation, which is the cause of the transfer.

One may mention here, not inappropriately, the importance of museums in stimulating the civic interest in historical continuity and attachment to place. Outstanding in this respect is the London Museum which is filled with objects illustrative of the life of the city from prehistoric times through the Roman colonization to the present. It is a fascinating place in which there are things to interest everyone, from a Roman boat found in the Thames mud to old prisons, models of the fire, and dresses worn by great ladies on important occasions. Similarly the National Portrait Gallery at London and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery have importance in presenting the history of the country through the pictorial record of outstanding men and women in all walks of life. Local galleries, such as those already mentioned at Truro and Newbury and York, are important as centers of civic education not only to the more well-to-do but also to the poorer people of the community, whose children are taken as a part of the school life and who visit them on Sundays or holidays.

Still another type of influence making for civic consciousness, a consciousness of one's own region or place, is the development of civic centers. Such a center as that at Liverpool, for example (where indeed there are two—one at the landing stage by the river, the other at the open square, great hall, galleries, and public buildings farther up the hill), or the Art Gallery, University, and Infirmary group at Glasgow bring some amenities to otherwise drab and dingy cities. At Edinburgh, however, is the greatest. The struggles for its proper treatment are well set forth in Henry Cockburn's *Memorials*. There is not only the great gray castle on the Rock, the long slope of the hill with its historic houses down to Holyrood, but also the magnificent Princes Street and Gardens open all along the Castle Rock side and supplying, therefore, the most impressive and beautiful setting and outlook of any city. In that collection of tributes, *The Charm of Edinburgh*, one comes quickly to an appreciation of the pull it has over its sons and daughters. It is Scott's "Mine own romantic town," "Auld Reekie." London, of course, is a civic center for the empire, although one is surprised at the numbers in the provinces who have not visited it. To the visitor certain centers are particularly impressive. Among these should be mentioned Whitehall, the Houses of Parliament, the sweep of the river under Westminster Bridge, Waterloo Bridge (whose threatened destruction has caused a considerable opposition already noted), the Law Courts and Inns of Court, the financial center at the Bank, the Abbey, St. Paul's, the Tower, the Charterhouse, the Guildhall, and the great parks with their statues. The Cenotaph is also an important civic center and the ceremony on Armistice Day impressive. Other war memorials engage the interest of citizens and there are controversies over their suitability which give evidence of public feeling about them. Trafalgar Square, however, is perhaps the most important center of all, and on Trafalgar Day the Nelson monument is covered with wreaths and surrounded by crowds. But the average visitor does not see also the local centers in the boroughs. London is in one sense a collection of towns, each with its town hall. Mr. Chesterton's *Napoleon of Notting Hill*, as well as stories such as those of Thomas Burke, give some taste of different regions. Sometimes the town halls face commons or squares, and occasionally they are buildings of some architectural distinction. It must be admitted, however, that frequently the Londoner does not know much of his own city. This is, indeed, a characteristic of city-dwellers the world over.

Finally in a discussion of the influence of physical surroundings one should mention the school and college. The public schools and older grammar schools are world-famous for their buildings. Novels and memoirs record their influence on the boys who attend these institutions. There may be also a distinctive dress (as the

Blue Coat at the Charterhouse School, and the blazers and caps at almost every school). The chapel or speech rooms will contain memorials to old boys who have fallen in battle or died in the service of state overseas. There is restraint, and no tawdriness in all this. Readers of *Stalky and Company* will remember the disgust felt by boys at that school at the "flag-flapping" by a politician who addressed the school and concluded his speech with a presentation of a flag to the school. The school boy, and in greater degree the college man, are too sophisticated for this kind of blatant patriotism. But in subtler ways an even stronger kind is developed by residence in the ancient buildings amid impressive memorials and ceremonies. The chapels of the colleges, the Great Halls with their paintings and plate, the former residence in certain entries of famous men all serve to impress upon the youth a consciousness of a heritage of great deeds, of loyalties, and of the necessity for achievement on his part. This is developing in the newer universities as their buildings also come to have historic associations as well as some aesthetic quality. The new hall and tower at Bristol University and the new Union and Library at Armstrong will eventually be to those institutions as older halls and chapels are to the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. At Durham, indeed, the college is housed in the magnificent old castle. Any novel of school or college life and guide to the older schools or universities will serve to illustrate the point.[19] It is significant that the newer secondary schools and colleges are reaching toward the same thing in gradually accumulating a physical setting and a body of recollection and tradition which will serve the same purpose.[20] These latter influences, of course, are confined to those persons who are able to go to the public schools and colleges. It is interesting to note that adult education groups frequently seek to have their summer schools in Oxford or Cambridge in part because of the interest of their members who have never had opportunities for university education to get some taste, however meager, of the life of those places. But there is unquestionably a differential in interest between those who have gone and those who have not gone to the public schools and colleges in terms of the interests described in this chapter as well as in terms of personal acquaintance and of educational opportunity in the more formal sense. It remains true, however, that all classes have an attachment to place stimulated by the more formal work of preservation by societies and museums as well as by residence in a region. The mobility of some sections of newer societies is in sharp contrast with this, and it is heightened by the lesser mobility of a family within its neighborhood which the automobile supplies, which is less frequently found in England.

One may well conclude this chapter with a brief quotation from the will of Lord Curzon, who on his death left two historic castles to the National Trust.

> Convinced that beautiful and ancient buildings which recall the life and customs of the past are not only a historical document of supreme value, but are a part of the spiritual and aesthetic heritage of a nation, imbueing it with reverence and educating its taste, I bequeath for the benefit of the nation certain properties which I have acquired for the express purpose of preserving the historic buildings upon them.[21]

The interest and pride in ancient monuments, places of scenic beauty, civic centers, and similar types of physical environment is not confined to one class, although it is true that the landed aristocracy, especially as Lord Curzon's will evidences, are more conscious of certain of these things. Even in the meanest slums there may be found attachment to the place; and it is certainly true that the desire to maintain and augment open spaces, footpaths for the walkers, open vistas, and the like is to be found in all classes. The civic importance of this is obvious. It expresses and generates at once an affection for the English countryside and for London, Edinburgh, and in less degree other towns that permeates English literature, and makes the emigrant homesick. Despite economic depression it is difficult to get many miners, for example, to go to the mining villages of America because of their attachment to the ways and places of the old home. This factor has a real part, too, in the failure to develop overseas emigration to the Dominions in the quantity that many desire. One is told of the return of men from America and Canada despite economic advantages which they found there because of the lack of the kind of life to which they were accustomed at home. Whether or not this marks a softness compared with the earlier English stock who founded colonies it is significant of one very important force making for deep patriotism.

NOTES

1. Mr. John Drinkwater, in his *Patriotism in Literature* has a valuable chapter on "Patriotism of Place," chiefly devoted to British examples. He remarks, "A man cannot cherish any profound national sentiment upon whose character there is not some abiding influence of place. This man may extend his affections

through life from one familiar landscape to another, while that one from first to last may keep always no more than an acre or two advanced beyond all others in his heart. But the one loyalty is as far removed as the other from mere traveller's joy. In either case the virtue is in the long acquaintance with a landscape in all its moods, the forming of associations, the tranquil and unfailing sense of home." Other writers who will repay study on this factor include Oakesmith, *Race and Nationality;* Massingham, *In Praise of England;* Ford Madox Hueffer (Ford), *England and the English;* Henry James, *English Hours;* and the writings of W. H. Hudson, especially *Afoot in England, The Land's End,* and other regional studies. The travel sketches of such visitors as Hawthorne, Howells, Heine, Kapek, and other famous writers are also illustrative. Hudson comments somewhere on the fact that guidebooks that are long out of date are hard to obtain and in constant demand, so great is the interest in the study of regions in Britain. It would be impossible even to list the series of guidebooks that are published, much less the local and regional studies of antiquities, natural features, historic places, etc. The growth of the use of regional geographic and civic studies in the schools is notable. This has been stimulated in part by the Civic Education League, LePlay House, London.

2. An illustration of the use made by the state of local feeling is the following: "I was glad to get it on good authority that I was right about this local patriotism. Captain Basil Williams has made a careful study of the organization of the British Army. It is the function of his department to do so. He told me the nature of the appeal by which the millions of men were recruited. It wasn't a vague, noisy crusade of advertising posters and general patriotism. It was aimed directly at where the men lived and their feeling of comradeship. The regiments were recruited by counties. (A few regiments came from more than one county.) . . . . Devonshire means something to a Lewdon man. . . . . The Devon man and his people have shot rabbits and ruled the sea from that village in that county for several centuries. . . . . Local pride is still the taproot of English nationality, and I shall not forget the inhabitants of Stratford as they gathered around the public notices that recorded the performances of the 'Warwickshires.' " —Arthur Gleason, *Inside the British Isles* (New York, 1917), pp. 336 *et seq.*

3. In the *Return of the Native,* for example, it is the spirit of Egdon Heath which is the central theme.

4. Mr. Hugh Walpole's novels of Cornwall are another illustration; while his *The Cathedral* gives the life of a cathedral town so his *The Gods and Mr. Perrin* supplies us with the life of a boarding-school as seen by a master.

5. Note, for example, the following from Mr. Housman's *A Shropshire Lad:*

"High the vanes of Shrewsbury gleam
Islanded in Severn stream;
The bridges from the steepled crest
Cross the water east and west.

The flag of morn in conqueror's state
Enters at the English gate:
The vanquished eve, as night prevails,
Bleeds upon the road to Wales."

or this, also of Housman's:

"On Wenlock Edge the wood's in trouble;
His forest fleece the Wrekin heaves;
The gale, it plies the saplings double,
And thick on Severn snow the leaves.

> Then, 'twas before my time, the Roman
> At yonder heaving hill would stare:
> The blood that warms an English yeoman,
> The thoughts that hurt him, they were there."

The late Edward Thomas had a house near this region, where the American poet Robert Frost spent some time. It is significant that the note which both Housman and Thomas strike is found also in Frost's poems of New England.

6. A novel entitled *Justice of the Peace,* by Frederick Nivens, gives a picture of Glasgow business, art, and Presbyterian atmosphere as mingled in the life of the hero's family. His *Ellen Adair* is a novel of Edinburgh.

7. Earlier writings of London are innumerable, from Pepys, Pope, Johnson (the Londoner of all Londoners), Lamb, Dickens, and Thackeray down to our times. To most of us present-day London is still peopled by these writers and their characters. Note how the youthful Henry Adams, recounting his first trip abroad, looked out upon London to see Little Nell and the others rather than the contemporary citizens. Stephen McKenna's novels give us war and post-war London, as do Bennett's *The Pretty Lady* and *Lord Raingo,* while *Mr. Prohack* is a London civil servant. Mr. Frank Swinnerton's *Nocturne* reveals the households "across the bridges," Mrs. Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* a day in the life of a woman of the "governing classes." We should not forget, if only for the sake of our enjoyment alone, the lives of Mr. W. W. Jacobs' Wopping characters. H. M. Tomlinson's essays in his *London River* are filled with the atmosphere of the river side. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, in his *The Common Weal,* has remarked, "I find myself standing, shall we say, at a point of vantage on Thames-side below St. Paul's, and, in the vivid life of modern London, I see the long succession from Shakespeare's theatres and the Elizabethan pageant, bright with barges and home-faring adventurers, through the rigours of Puritan England to the Restoration elegance, followed by Wits and Regencies, and broadening through Victorian 'precedent to precedent' into the complex enigma of our own day. And as I look on this panorama of history I am strangely moved by the knowledge that I am a part of it, that I, too, am an Englishman, that I can travel to foreign parts and speak familiarly of my heritage in this great story. I boast to myself, and justly, that I can call myself the peer of any man in being thus in a descent that can match any splendour in the world's records. I am, in the widest and deepest sense, a patriot. And then I remember that I share this high distinction with—what is it—seven million other people. And reflecting upon this I do not claim that my emotion is altruistic, that it is inspired by the will to serve the State of which I am a member, but I rejoice that the spiritual eminence that I so surely reach in this largeness of mood is shared by a mulitude of my fellows."

8. The books of travel and description and the guidebooks would form in themselves a tempting object of special study. The railroads publish a number of the latter that are illustrative of the emphasis upon place and sentiment. Note, for example, the handsome volumes published by the Great Western Railroad on "Abbeys" and "Cathedrals." I found in the Catholic Cathedral (Westminster) some interesting pamphlets concerning the Tower and the Abbey, interpreting their history from the point of view of its Catholic interests and connections. There are innumerable books on streets or periods of significance in London history, notably those of Mr. Beresford Chancellor, or on "the London of Dickens" or of "Kipling's Sussex" or "Hardy's Wessex."

9. London overshadows the other cities in this respect, and the novels of London neglect, for the most part, the industrial and business life of the capital. *The Manchester Guardian* often publishes sketches or short stories of the industrial cities of the North, however, and Mr. Brett Young and Mr. Arnold Bennett have given us novels of such towns. There is a bit of Belfast in Mr. Ervine's

Changing Winds. In D. H. Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers* one sees something of the mining towns and the smaller commercial city life, and the smaller city is portrayed in the earlier parts of Mr. J. D. Beresford's *Jacob Stahl* trilogy, although the scene shifts to London soon.

10. *The Observer* for August 16, 1925, had an interesting article on wooden houses in London, stating that the prejudice against them is supposed to date back to the Great Fire of Pepys' time.

11. There is an organization entitled the Allotments Organization Society and Small Holders, Limited. There are over a million and a quarter allotment holders, according to the officials of this society.

12. See, for example, the beautifully illustrated reports on Hertfordshire, West London, or Flintshire, published by the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments.

13. There is a constant publishing of articles and photographs relating to ancient buildings or places of beauty in the newspapers and journals. The *Times, Morning Post,* and *Manchester Guardian* are foremost, perhaps, in publishing such materials. See, for example, the pictures of the castles given to the nation by Lord Curzon in the *Times* of July 23; of Ashridge, a new park, in the *Times* of October 14; of Eyam village in the *Observer* of August 30; of the Lincoln Fens in the *Morning Post* of September 2; of the Druids' Circle at Aberystwyth in the *Observer* of October 11; of early earthworks on the Sussex Downs, protected by the Crown from building operations, in the *Times* of October 12; and of St. Aldate's Oxford, in the *Times* of October 8. These are samplings of our clippings for the months of 1925 when we were in England. They also include (from a great number) articles on old Edinburgh, the Thames in summer, Norwich Castle Moat, the ruins of Glastonbury, the drive for funds for the purchase of the Ashridge estate as a park, the restoration of Sadler's Wells Theatre in London, with an account of the ancient springs there, early British stones in Cornwall, a movement to protect the public access to the Cornish cliffs, the Broads of Essex as a holiday ground, new explorations at Cockersand Abbey, the threat to Adelphi Terrace from proposed rebuilding there, an exhibit by the London County Council of prints of early London, numerous news stories of crowds at the various show places such as the Tower, Westminster Abbey, Stratford, etc., Roman relics discovered in building operations in the city, a town planning scheme for Oxford, a plan for Kent, and a description of Wells Cathedral. The proposed sale of the Foundlings' Hospital in Bloomsbury caused a great outcry in the press.

14. The *Times* of Saturday, August 22, 1925, published an editorial on the subject of "Villagers as Historians" in which the preservation of records and other matters of historical interest in localities was discussed. On the same day the *Spectator,* in its "Architectural Notes" discussed the question of public monuments.

15. There is at present a controversy over the famous Wren churches in the city. They have lost, of course, the membership which they possessed when the city was a residential as well as business area, their ground is very valuable, and they are an expense to maintain especially when the very small congregations which attend them are considered. It has been proposed that some of them be taken down and the sites sold. A great protest has arisen against this, and legislation which would seem to open the way for such a proceeding by the church has been held up in Parliament at the time I write.

16. A controversy arose over the war memorial placed at Hyde Park Corner (a huge field gun in stone, with gunners working it) by individuals and societies protesting against it both on aesthetic grounds and because of the inscription and conception as being too much a glorification of destruction.

17. See the articles in the *Times* for July 23, concerning Lord Curzon's will, in which he left certain properties to the National Trust.

18. See also *An Account of the Scapa Society,* by Richardson Evans, London, 1926. The efforts of William Morris in the work of protecting natural beauties are briefly described in J. B. Priestly's life of Morris in the "English Men of Letters Series" (London, 1926).

19. I have discussed this also in the chapters on education. Mr. H. Warington-Smyth, in his *Sea-Wake and Jungle Trail,* writing of the Westminster School in London, says: "The great south transept is their morning chapel. Beneath Henry VII's gorgeous fan vaulting they are confirmed. . . . . Under the immense arches of the nave the boys take part in every ceremony; they are part of national thanksgivings; and even at coronations they take an active part with the leaders of the Empire in the national ceremonial. . . . . There, too, they learn and realise that the history of England is not a precarious procession of separate epochs, but a gradually growing whole, a service to which all are called in greater or less degree in their own time and generation. . . . . Ever after . . . . the Westminster boy carries with him a certain feeling of possession, of intimacy and of understanding, between himself and the spirit of that great fane. . . . . He returns from time to time from his distant post, to renew there the aspirations and thrice-blessed friendships of his boyhood, and to draw from the Abbey's inexhaustible store of encouragement, of promise and of exhortation. . . . . The Abbey sends him forth to work for 'this Church and Nation' with a secret in his heart like a consecration at once a blessing, a command, and a faith."

20. An English friend of mine who was appointed to the governing board of a new secondary school in a suburb of London writes me as follows: "We had to begin by choosing a name for the school, and, in accordance with custom, we asked the archivist of the London County Council to find out the name of some great Englishman who had been associated with the place. He failed to do so, because the land had always been either farm land or market gardens until it was suddenly built over a few years ago. We, therefore, hunted up the history of the ownership of the land, and found that it was part of the manor of Tooting Bec, which was given (I think by William the Conqueror) to the great Abbey of Bec in Normandy. We, therefore, decided to call it the Bec School. I went a few weeks later to stay with friends in Normandy, and we motored down to the ruins of the Abbey and took some good photographs, which the London County Council School of Photo-Engraving enlarged. I also found that Bec Abbey had maintained the largest and best of the North European medieval schools, and when Lanfranc (I think it was) became archbishop of Canterbury and went to do homage to the Pope, the Pope did homage to him as his old master at Bec. When the manor was taken from Bec, I believe it came for a time into the possession of Eton College, and the headmaster wrote to Eton College asking whether they would recognize the connection by allowing us to use part of their arms in the school coat-of-arms. Eton agreed; so we made a coat-of-arms composed partly of the Bec arms and partly of Eton. We arranged that eleven not-too-skillful small boys from Eton should come annually and play a cricket match with boys of the Bec School. All this was explained to the boys when they first assembled and a little boy, writing his first school essay rejoiced at his good luck. He said, 'I came here from a school which had been open for thirty years, and which had no traditions.' I was present at the public opening, and the little boys certainly felt that they were the inheritors of a great tradition which they should hand on to their successors."

21. See the *Times* for July 23, 1925, for this will. It is an exceedingly interesting document from the point of view of the objects of this study.

CHAPTER V

THE CITIZEN AND THE EMPIRE

What good has the Empire been to Englishmen? Why did England want an Empire? Find the answer in the annals of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, before there was any British Empire at all. Because the English sucked in the instinct of maritime enterprise with their mother's milk, because they identified such enterprises—and rightly—with freedom and national life, because they were human and found that it paid, because they were growing and meant to grow, because they were English and loved to have it so.—SIR CHARLES LUCAS.

On the whole, in imperialism nothing fails like success. If the conqueror oppresses his subjects, they will become fanatical patriots, and sooner or later have their revenge; if he treats them well, and "governs them for their good," they will multiply faster than their rulers, till they claim their independence. The Englishman now says, "I am quite content to have it so"; but that is not the old imperialism.—DEAN INGE, "Patriotism," in *Outspoken Essays.*

And yet it was not with the Mahdi that the future lay. Before six months were out, in the plentitude of his power, he died, and the Khalifa Abdullahi reigned in his stead. The future lay with Major Kitchener and his Maxim-Nordenfeldt guns. Thirteen years later the Mahdi's empire was abolished forever in the gigantic hecatomb of Omdurman; after which it was thought proper that a religious ceremony in honour of General Gordon should be held at the Palace at Khartoun. The service was conducted by four chaplains—of the Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist persuasions—and concluded with a performance of "Abide with Me"—the General's favourite hymn—by a select company of Sudanese buglers. Everyone agreed that General Gordon had been avenged at last. Who could doubt it? General Gordon himself, possibly, fluttering, in some remote Nirvana, the pages of a phantasmal Bible, might have ventured on a satirical remark. But General Gordon had always been a contradictious person—even a little off his head, perhaps, though a hero; and besides, he was no longer there to contradict. . . . . At any rate it had all ended very happily—in a glorious slaughter of twenty thousand Arabs, a vast addition to the British Empire, and a step in the peerage for Sir Evelyn Baring.—LYTTON STRACHEY, "The End of General Gordon," in *Eminent Victorians.*

On July 27, 1925, the *London Times* published the *Credo* of Lord Milner. This distinguished servant of the state had been, in Egypt, South Africa, and later in the War Cabinet and again in Egypt, one of those responsible for the development of imperial policy during the last three decades. What attitude does he reveal?

> If I am also an Imperialist, it is because the destiny of the British race, owing to its insular position and long supremacy at sea, has been to strike fresh roots in distant parts of the world. My patriotism knows no geographical but only racial limits. I am an Imperialist and not a little Englander, because I am a British race patriot. . . . . It is not the soil of England, dear as it is to me, which is essential to arouse my patriotism, but the speech, the tradition, the spiritual heritage, the principles, the aspirations of the British race. . . . . I feel myself a citizen of the Empire. I feel that Canada is my country, Australia my country, New Zealand my country, South Africa my country, just as much as Surrey or Yorkshire. . . . . The wider patriotism is no mere exalted sentiment. It is a practical necessity from the point of view of "Little England"—England, nay more, Great Britain, nay more, the United Kingdom is no longer the power in the world which it once was, or in isolation, capable of remaining a power at all. It is no longer even self-supporting. But the British dominions as a whole are not only self-supporting. They are more nearly self-sufficient than any other political entity in the world, that is, if they can be kept as an entity, if their present loose and fragile organizations can be made tenacious though elastic.

Would Palmerston, with his "metallic ha-ha!" have used this language in the 1850's? Or Lord John Russell? It is significant that Bagehot, in his *English Constitution*, finds no room for a discussion of the imperial problem. What forces have produced this modern fact of an imperial influence and interest in the British people? What groups in Britain are most sensitive to these? Are there some who, on the contrary, are antagonistic? Who enjoy the gentle satire in Mr. J. C. Squire's "The Hands-Across-the-Sea Poem," in his *The Aspirant's Manual?*

Sons of the Empire, Britain's sons,
  Here, as the darkness falls,
Over your grey Sea-Mother's guns
  The warning clarion calls;

O, and I bid you now "God speed,
  Quit you like men, be true";
Stand by us in the hour of need
  And we shall stand by you.

We must, in appraising British civic life, take into account the importance of the empire as an influence on civic attitudes. We must account for the fact that seventy-five years ago the colonies were generally viewed as liabilities, today the sentiments of Milner are those of the dominant political party and shared in milder form in some sections of other parties.

The British citizen has today three cultural ties of political significance. He is Welsh, Scotch, or English. For the most part, the political interests of all three are, however, served by the Parliament and the departments at Westminster. He is, therefore, a citizen of Great Britain. But he is also a citizen of the British empire, or as it is now more frequently called, the British Commonwealth of Nations. Through overseas settlement and acquisition by various means a vast area in all parts of the world has now some political relationship to the Crown.

That empire has developed through many centuries.[1] It originated in the discovery of new regions by British explorers, in the development of regions by British trading-companies, and the gradual settlement of colonies by British people of all classes. It has been furthered by missionaries who have explored new areas and pressed for governmental extension to protect the mission enterprises or to put down abuses of the slave-trade or of sellers of rum. We can differentiate, however, between these enterprises. Some areas were sparsely peopled, and inhabited only by tribes who possessed no highly developed cultures. Where such areas permitted (so far as climate and resources are concerned), the settlement of the region by the British was relatively easy, and the re-establishment of British culture inevitable, although modified by the new conditions. This was true of the American colonies in general. Other areas, however, were already settled by peoples of ancient and well-developed culture. Here there has been less settlement by the British, and of necessity the recognition of the cultural state of the natives and some kind of accommodation to it by the newcomers. India and to some extent French Canada illustrate this other condition.

The earlier colonial development occurred before the form of government at home had become parliamentary in the modern sense. The colonies were peculiarly under the control of the Crown. As Parliament encroached more and more upon the discretion of the

Crown, and as the powers of the Crown came to be exercised by ministers responsible to the majority party of the House of Commons, and further as this majority came to be more responsive to interests of groups in the British electorate, it may be seen that a new issue was presented. Were the developing interests of the colonies to be subject to the new and changing parliamentary interests and majorities? Out of this condition the American Revolutionary War developed, and it was not until some decades later that a new arrangement was developed for meeting such a difficulty.[2] This was first recognized in the famous Durham report on Canada; and by various steps certain of the overseas possessions have secured a "Dominion" status, whereby the autonomy of Canada, Newfoundland, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and more recently the Irish Free State has been recognized, and that of Ulster partially so. There remain such governmental units as India, the Sudan, the Crown Colonies, and lately the mandated regions, where considerable power remains with the Crown. The Dominions today, however, are united with Great Britain governmentally through common allegiance to the Crown, through the person of the reigning monarch, through the right of appeal in certain legal cases to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and through the conferences of their Prime Ministers and other official representatives. Even in international relations the new status is recognized by separate membership in the League of Nations, and the appearance of separate diplomatic representatives as at Washington; but in this field of activity there is still of necessity much unmapped territory.[3]

The idea of the empire as an important factor influencing the civic attitudes of British citizens is comparatively recent, however. In the middle of the last century prominent statesmen looked upon the colonies as at best a minor concern, possibly as a liability.

The earlier indifference to the empire is partly explained by other situations described by Jenks in his brilliant study *The Migration of British Capital.*

> Nearly every part of the world borrowed of England's capital surplus before she made notable use of it in her empire overseas. The spoil of India and the sugar colonies had indeed laid the foundation upon which her imposing financial edifice was built. The business aristocracy of London, at least before the railway era, consisted of the great East and West India families which drew their steady income

> from the dependencies. But it was income without commensurate investment. The profits of the eighteenth century empire were painless. Important as British possessions were to British trade and to the financial structures which depended upon its growth, their extensive development by the export of saved capital or thru the magnanimity of the London bill-broking mechanism had not been seriously undertaken before 1850. Neither the economic development of dependencies nor the political control of areas of commercial interest had become axioms of policy in Lombard street and Whitehall.[4]

But the currents of investment changed, and large sums were placed in Indian public works.

> India was not the only part of the empire with which investment ties grew more firm after 1857. Fifty million pounds were loaned between 1860 and 1876 to the governments of the rapidly growing colonies in Australasia, chiefly for railways and other public works. And in the same period various private enterprises in Indian and other colonies issued securities in London for thirty million pounds. Twenty-five millions more were loaned to the governments of Canada and smaller colonies. Thus the stakes of the middle classes grew in investments made under the protection of British rule. They aided in the formation of a state of mind which was ready to think of foreign policy in terms of Empire rather than of England. These interests were at hand to justify decisions so extraordinary as to make the Northwest Frontier of India at times the pivotal point in the defense of the British Isles.[5]

It was not until 1872 that Disraeli made imperialism a basic tenet of the new Conservative faith. Sir Charles Dilke was attracting interest in the empire by his book, *Greater Britain* at that time, and Professor Seeley (later knighted through Rosebery's influence) was beginning his work in Cambridge University of influencing the new generation.[6] The search for new markets for the industries of Britain which were now being pressed by the new industries of the Continent and of the United States turned the attention of the commercial world to unexploited areas; the Suez Canal purchase and the financial stakes in Egypt, the proclaiming of Victoria as Empress of India, and the death of Gordon, the Christian General, at Khartoum alike added to the new interest.

Professor Jenks emphasizes the importance of the purchase of the Suez Canal shares by Disraeli.

> And it involved another momentous change. It made a foreign investment a veritable weapon of British foreign policy. It associated the British government with financial commitments which made it im-

> possible for it to maintain its indifference to them. It symbolized the advent of foreign investments as one of the abiding interests of British foreign policy. "The nation awakes this morning," said the *Times* in announcing the purchase, "to find that it has acquired a heavy stake in the security and well-being of another distant land, and that it will be held by all the world to have entered upon a new phase of Eastern policy." After a lapse of half a century, the historian can find no truer word to say.[7]

What a footnote to this is supplied by the present nationalist movement in Egypt!

Later still Joseph Chamberlain, politically ambitious yet apparently doomed as a member of the Liberal Unionist wing of the Unionist party to a second place at best in the party councils, made of the office of the Colonial Secretaryship a position of first importance. Investors in the gold and diamond mines of the Rand pressed for control in the Transvaal against the interests of the Boer farmers and the Boer War resulted.[8] Imperialism as a creed seemed to reach its height about 1900, with the glittering pageantry of the Queen's Jubilee celebrations, the verses of the new popular writer, Rudyard Kipling,[9] and the Poet Laureate's "There are Girls in the Gold Reef City." In 1901 appeared Bernard Holland's *Imperium et Libertas*,[10] a disquisition on the new imperialism. We find the new note struck here in his conclusion.

> What, indeed, are English cabinet ministers to the Princes of India? Not even names. How many among the Indian millions, or those other darker and barbarous millions who live behind the African coast, have so much as heard of the British Parliament? Even Canadians and Australians, our own kinsmen, are but faintly interested in the struggles and questions of political parties here in England; they have their own affairs. And, conversely, how many men in England could recite the names of the present Prime Ministers of each colony? But in all these lands, east and west, the holder of the throne is to every man his own sovereign. A Real Presence, if one may so speak, makes itself felt throughout the world. An ordinary English nobleman goes out to India, or to Canada, or to Australia, and carries with him, such is the magic of imagination, the atmosphere of imperial majesty. It is not race, nor law, nor common language, nor similar institutions, nor military force that holds together this strange aggregation of many races, many laws, many languges, many institutions and kinds of government, many religions, and strong peoples capable, if they choose, of achieving independence. The bond is not the British Parliament; it is not the

British Cabinet; it is the Imperial Crown. On a lovely June morning, in the year 1897, a wondrous pageant moved through the enchanted streets of London. Squadron by squadron, and battery by battery, a superb cavalry and artillery went by—the symbol of the fighting strength of the United Kingdom. There went by also troops of mounted men, more carelessly riding and more lightly equipped—those who came from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa to give a deeper meaning to the royal triumph; the black-skinned soldiers and yellow, and the fine representatives of the Indian warrior races. Generals and statesmen went by, and a glittering cavalcade of English and continental princes, and the whole procession was a preparation—for what? A carriage at last, containing a quiet-looking old lady, in dark and simple attire; and at every point where this carriage passed through seven miles of London streets, in rich quarters and poor, a shock of strong emotion shot through the spectators, on pavement and on balcony, at windows and on housetops. They had seen the person in whom not only were vested the ancient kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, but who was also at once the symbol and the actual bond of union of the greatest and most diversified of secular Empires.

The Liberals, in opposition, were themselves divided; for Rosebery, when Prime Minister, possibly as an alternative to pursuing the—to him—distasteful policy of Home Rule for Ireland, had become interested in imperialism and with Haldane, Grey, and Asquith constituted a Liberal imperial wing.[11] With the restoration of that party to power in 1906, the Conservative party remained with its now strong tradition of emphasis on imperial ties not merely in a vague cultural way but because of Chamberlain's campaign for an imperial tariff plan; while in the Liberal party the policy of granting self-government to South Africa represented only another method of retaining the imperial connection through the active consent of the various partners as did the Morley-Minto schemes in India.[12] The World War naturally furthered the imperial interests, since troops and supplies from overseas played an important rôle in securing victory. It is true that the war also stimulated the development of nationalism in the dominions, and partially accounted for the grant of a dominion status to Ireland;[13] but this does not change the fact that the idea of an imperial sentiment united upon the single objective of the defeat of the central empires has contributed much to contemporary civic attitudes.

At the present time the particular interests which are affected by imperial factors are numerous. The decline, relatively, in world-markets available to British trade and manufacture has led to renewed interests in the development of imperial markets for goods and loans. Unemployment at home suggests overpopulation, while the vast unsettled areas and undeveloped resources in other parts of the empire equally suggest overseas settlement.[14] Family ties throughout the empire are now ubiquitous. The possibilities for careers to university men in the colonial service, in the overseas universities, or in the professions and business are carefully scrutinized.[15] To the churches, the empire represents a trusteeship for native peoples; to humanitarians, it represents a tangible beginning of a world-experiment in the federation of different races and nations. The universities have an Imperial Conference; the British Association for the Advancement of Science meets at Toronto or other dominion centers as well as at Oxford or Manchester. Parties of teachers, clergymen, schoolboys, business men, journalists, or legislators are continually making empire tours, while the Prince of Wales and other members of the royal family are indefatigable travelers about the various parts of the empire. At Oxford the Rhodes scholars are joined by other colonials; the present Prime Minister of Australia is a Cambridge man, as was ex-Premier Smuts of South Africa; while Edinburgh, Glasgow, and now Liverpool and other newer universities as well have many students from various parts of the empire. There are streets of Bloomsbury near the various colleges of London University that are notable for the number of Indians and colonials that are to be seen in them. Football and cricket teams from the dominions visit the old country, and the Australians make frequent raids upon Wimbledon. The illustrated weeklies have special empire editions, so that the traveler who buys a *Sketch*, *Tatler*, or *London Illustrated News* at the stands at Toronto or Winnipeg or Cape Town sees the pictures of house parties on the moors, or society at the Riviera or the Lord Mayor's show at London as well as the citizen of London or Sheffield. Not only the Church of England, but all the dissenting sects including the Salvation Army maintain their colonial ties, while the press gives space to empire news. The narrow old streets of the city are lined with firms whose home offices are Singapore, Sydney, Durban, Calcutta, Montreal; the great harbors and docks have shipping from imperial ports; and the London Underground's striking poster of Whitehall is well labeled "The Heart of the Empire."

The present attitude of the British citizen toward the empire, his consciousness of being a member of that empire, may be considered here to advantage by examining briefly some different factors which are stressed by various interests and groups. Those most important are the factors of finance and trade, settlement and emigration, culture and government.

There is an effort now being made by business groups in cooperation with government and dominion officials to stimulate the purchase of empire products and borrowing in the London money market. This is partly connected with the movement (described in the chapter on economic groups) for the development of an Imperial Fiscal policy which will make the empire self-contained.[16] The Empire Self-Supporting League, with its speakers in Hyde Park and its general literature, is a reflection of this interest. But during the summer of 1925, the attempts to create a greater demand for empire goods stimulated partly by the Wembley Exhibition were given great publicity. Editorials were written, the post-office stamped "Buy British Goods" on letters, many letters appeared in the correspondence columns telling of empire-grown products, the Unionist party organizations such as the Imperial League and the Primrose League as well as the National Citizens' Union urged their members to ask for empire products, and so on. A counter interest was reflected in the complaints that were occasionally aired in letters to the press that such goods often were not stocked or else were inferior in quality or higher in price. In Parliament complaint was made by Unionist members that matches supplied in the smoking-rooms were not of British make, and that the goatskins used for recovering the seats in the House of Lords were not from imperial goats. The same kinds of appeal were naturally urged by the dominion offices in London, where various products are attractively displayed and where lists of dealers who supply those articles are available to the public. The appeal was both to patriotism and to self-interest. That is, it was pointed out that the purchase of empire products was a tangible thing to be done for the empire and its well-being; and also that it meant getting excellent quality, stimulated production of the article, therefore created employment, therefore revived industry, and lowered taxation. The Wembley Exhibition was a huge advertisement of empire products, and was called, indeed, a display window of the empire.

The stimulation of emigration is undertaken by the governments concerned, organizations of citizens, and personal communications from friends and relatives who may have gone out earlier. There is not only a Department of Overseas Trade (concerned with trade throughout the world, foreign countries as well as empire), but also a Department of Overseas Settlement.[17] In most urban centers throughout Britain there are Dominion offices at which information concerning settlement and settlement aid plans is given. The dominions have schemes for aiding properly qualified men and women or families to emigrate, secure training in agriculture, take up land and secure stock. The churches have organizations which see that any emigrating members of their societies are welcomed overseas, and such groups as the Overseas League undertake to put emigrants in touch with their members in the new home. There is a great deal of discussion of the need for emigration as a partial remedy for unemployment. The reply of labor groups is pertinent. The labor organizations overseas declare that unemployment exists in the cities, and that land settlement is difficult to city workers without experience or capital. Those who attempt it drift back to the cities. They therefore are unfriendly to the emigration of British unemployed on the ground that it tends to reproduce conditions of the Old Country in the New. Labor journals frequently publish discouraging reports of such emigration.[18] Labour also points out that some of the well-to-do and members of noble families might practice what they preach in this matter. Finally they suggest that a proper reorganization of the economic system at home would solve home difficulties; that there is no real overpopulation, but rather an inadequate economic order. They have no more desire, for the most part, to break up their intimate local ties and interests than have prosperous people. One heard many stories, especially in the north of England, of men who had been out of work and had gone overseas returning because they were homesick, or because the opportunities were not what had been promised, or because the industrial relations overseas were not as good as they were accustomed to at home. But among the middle classes and the wealthy the idea of emigration is popular, chiefly, it might be said, for the other fellow. The public school system and secondary school system generally do not train for overseas settlement.[19]

The development of imperial cultural ties is fostered by several organizations. The oldest one with definitely imperial interests and concerns is the Royal Colonial Institute,[20] founded in 1868 when an interest in the colonies was beginning to develop, and for many years the most outstanding of the organizations devoted to imperial interests. It publishes the *United Empire*, a monthly whose title suggests the general position of the society. It is definitely for a strong emphasis upon the idea of union in the empire; it has among its members men of all parties, but those who are active for furthering imperial ties. It has one of the best collections of writings on colonial subjects in the world in its clubhouse near Whitehall, and some of its members and officers are among the outstanding authorities on imperial problems and factors. It may be said to be the most important of the organizations dealing with imperial questions which is linked with the general governing society.

The Overseas League,[21] founded in 1910, has a membership of about 30,000 all over the empire. It maintains a clubhouse in London which is a center for its members, it publishes *Overseas*, a monthly, and it has a chain of over 600 corresponding secretaries in different parts of the world. Lord Northcliffe was among those actively interested in its foundation. It was active in patriotic efforts during the war in raising funds, supplying hospitals, comforts for soldiers, and urging the cause of the empire in different countries of the world. One phase of its activities is the developing of correspondence relations between settlers in different parts of the empire and the person at home who may be interested in communicating with them, and the local corresponding secretaries are at the services of members who may go to new places in the empire. Its objects stress the idea of the service of the empire in the cause of peace and civilization, rather than conceptions of exclusive nationalism.

The Victoria League,[22] founded in 1901 as a non-party association of British men and women in memory of Her Majesty the late Queen Victoria, has as its object the promotion of "Closer union between British subjects living in different parts of the world." Like the Overseas League it organizes personal correspondence between individuals at home and overseas, it promotes lectures and circulates literature on the empire, and organizes essay competitions, picture talks, study circles, and similar activities in the schools and local villages and towns of Britain. It has many local branches. Like the Overseas League, it numbers among its supporters many eminent persons. Its patrons are the King and the Queen, its vice-patrons other members of the royal family. The

King is also a patron of the Overseas League. Among its vice-presidents are many of members of past or present Unionist or Liberal Cabinets, Lord Chelmsford, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Webb of the Labour Government; the Headmasters of Eton, Harrow, and Westminster; and Mr. Rudyard Kipling.

The League of the Empire concerns[23] itself primarily with educational contacts between the mother-country and the dominions. It encourages correspondence between children in the schools of the different parts of the empire, and has been especially active in promoting conference of teachers and others active in education throughout the empire. An interesting activity which it has undertaken is the conduct of visits by parties of teachers in Britain to the dominions and of dominion teachers to Britain. The chairman of the Conference Committee of its last Triennial Conference on Imperial Education was the Vice-Chancellor of London University. Four hundred delegates were present at this conference held in London in July, 1924. Among the topics discussed were graduate study in British universities by graduates from other parts of the empire, temporary migration of university teachers to and from the universities overseas, interchange of training-college teachers, the better preparation of intending teachers "for influencing the standard of public life and culture and arousing in their pupils a sense of the importance of the duties of empire citizenship," the interchange of school teachers, "English as a bond of Empire," correlation of the teaching of history and geography, and training for citizenship. The papers and discussion at the conference supply an excellent picture of the effort which is being made to develop in the teachers of the empire a wider conception of and acquaintance with the empire. In this work the League, since its founding in 1901, has been the initiating and aggressive force.

The British universities are influential throughout the empire through the training of overseas men who return to the dominions. The Rhodes scholarships bring many to Oxford, although there is some difficulty in parts of the empire to secure men of the caliber desired because of the necessary delay entailed in the pursuing of a career. Edinburgh especially has many overseas students, partly on account of the high quality of its medical faculty and training, but London draws many, Liverpool has a strong School of Tropical Medicine, and Cambridge naturally attracts the natural scientists. It must be confessed, however, that among many educators in Britain there is lip homage to the idea of developing a wider knowledge of and acquaintance with the empire without any great recognition that this entails some effort on the part of those in the mother-country. The air of patronage and condescension shown toward the institutions and culture of overseas regions has offended many "colonials"; and while the latter undoubtedly respond to the movements toward closer cultural contacts one learns that the unwillingness of those in the mother-country to attempt to comprehend the different conditions and the development of a new civilization overseas is frequently repelling. In a discussion with a group of university people at Oxford of the proposed new Rhodes center, it was suggested in extenuation of it that its library of overseas and American materials would be useful, as the new books in the literature and the natural and social sciences of those regions was difficult to get at in Britain because rarely found in the libraries. "But are there really any?" asked the hostess.[24]

Several other organizations include the word imperial or empire in their title, although confined in membership chiefly to the British Isles, and new ones frequently arise. More important are the writings of Rudyard Kipling, and in less degree of such men as Francis Brett Young, Sir Hugh Clifford, and Sir Harry Johnston. In the novels of the latter we get excellent pictures of the missionary, consular, scientific, and trading interests which have been concerned in empire building, not only as seen in the Colonies but also in London and the English countryside. A few writings of colonials are known in England also—Olive Schreiner's *The Story of a South African Farm,* Sarah Millin's *God's Stepchildren,* and the poems of Robert Service. Apparently, however, the interest of the British citizens is chiefly in trade and settlement, or interesting personalities.[25] The letters of James S. Mann, published under the title of *The Making of an Administrator* are delightful glimpses of the life of a young Oxford man in the colonial service in Mesopotamia. Throughout the schools of England are children of British officers who are stationed in different parts of the empire, and who constitute, as Kipling has shown in his *Stalky and Company* an interesting part of the school life. A somewhat different view of the relations between the British and the people whom they rule in India is found in E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India.* In fact the best introduction to a study of the relation of the empire to the attitude of British citizens would be found in a reading of Kipling, Johnston, Mann, and Forster, with some readings from Blunt's *Diaries* and *A Secret History of the British Occupation of Egypt* thrown in for good measure. Mr. J. B. Botsford in his *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*[26] has shown us how much, as early as that period, the life of the mother-country was beginning to be affected by the overseas empire. In the novels of Thackeray (himself an Anglo-Indian by birth) we have a number of studies of the Indian official returned to the old home in Britain, of which *The Newcomes* and *Vanity Fair* are perhaps most important. But probably the most effective means of extending the cultural influences of the mother-country to the outlying empire today is the export of school teachers.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Lands, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, and other missionary organizations of the various Christian sects as well as the church organizations themselves have been influential in the development of interests in the empire.[27] This interest in the past has contributed both to the exploration of new regions, the establishment of mission posts, and propaganda at home for support for these enterprises. Pressure has come from these organizations upon opinion and the government at home for the protection by the home government against the exploitation of native peoples, and this has led in some places to the extension of the empire as a means of protecting native tribes from other forms of Western "civilization." The rivalry of British Protestant missionaries with the French Catholic priests for the conversion of natives in parts of Africa supplemented, too, other forms of imperial conflict. Undoubtedly the wave of resentment over the death of General Gordon and the victory of the Mahdi at Khartoum was given additional importance in Britain because of Gordon's reputation as a Christian general. Probably the most important influence of the missions of civic attitude at home, however, has been the added emphasis upon the extension of the empire as an agency of civilization and Christianity, giving a moral sanction to the activities of the trader, the explorer, the soldier, and the pro-consul. There is noted in many chapters of this survey the influence of religious societies and ideas upon civic life in Britain; and certainly the reports and lectures of missionaries to local parish churches and chapels, the letters home to family circles and groups, have strengthened the conception stated above. At present a further rôle played by the churches is that of influencing overseas settlement, and of providing a convenient medium through which emigrants are put in touch with clergymen in the new country who will befriend them there. Several of the churches, indeed, have special organizations for this work.

The interests, therefore, which help to make the citizen of Great Britain realize that a part of his heritage is the expansion and development of an empire and the responsibilities of that empire are numerous. Since it is a complicated structure, it is no wonder that he may at times confuse the relative positions of the inhabitant of Kenya, let us say, with the South African, the powers of an Indian potentate with those of a Canadian Prime Minister, and view all white persons in any part as possessing viewpoints and culture identical with his own. His churches have engaged in converting the natives and helping them, wherever possible, to a better way of life according to his lights; his civil servants and soldiers have brought order, built roads, attacked disease; his traders have opened new markets and secured raw materials; his bankers have loaned money for public works, railroads, and commercial undertakings; his shipping has expanded with the new ports, the establishment of new routes, and the growth of trade; his educators have founded schools and colleges, and at home receive the young men and women of the empire in their old and new schools and colleges. At his great pageants, coronations, jubilees, fairs, processions, he delights in representation of the varied places under the British flag—their native peoples, products, and achievements.[28] He sees the football or cricket teams from Australia or New Zealand play at grounds of his city, or reads of their tennis stars at Wimbledon. His newspapers and illustrated journals are filled with royal visits to these remote regions of the empire. In his schooldays he learns of the winning of the empire, the "All-Red Route" whereby it is joined to the mother-country by ships, and now by air; and at the university he meets many colonials. Confronted with economic depression at home, with millions of unemployed, with a declining agriculture, and yet with the boundless lands of the overseas empire, inevitably the idea of imperial development attracts him. Even the local patriotism of Wales or Scotland, or the love of the native for Sussex or Devon can respond to an interest in regions in which his own kind have won glory or success, or in which opportunities may await his own coming.[29]

The recent constitutional evolution of imperial institutions has left Parliament with less authority than it formerly possessed in the government of some parts of the empire. It still remains, however, ultimate controller of India, vast areas in Africa, and scattered Crown colonies, and with an indefinite yet recognized initiative in general foreign policy. The parties, therefore, of necessity continue to reflect civic attitudes stimulated by imperial problems. We have observed the growth of a solicitude for the empire in the Conservative party. Today that interest is heightened by the desire to find in imperial development a solution for the economic situation and a means of maintaining a power in world-affairs which the British Isles alone could hardly maintain against Europe. The former great figures of Curzon, Milner, and Cromer have gone; but there are new spokesmen for imperial concerns such as Amery and Ormsby-Gore who unite a wide knowledge of the empire with a conviction that Britain may well turn her attentions away from Europe and to her own empire. Representing the humanitarian concern for the "white man's burden" is Lord Irwin, the new Viceroy of India, who is also a distinguished Anglo-Catholic. The party literature places great emphasis on the concern of the party for maintaining imperial ties and developing the economic resources of the empire, and the various imperial societies are strongly recruited from among the party members.

The Liberal party still recalls with pride its contributions to imperial development through the grant of self-government, the Morley-Minto and Montagu-Chelmsford reforms in India as well as Lord Reading's work there as Viceroy, and the services of such pro-consuls as Sir Herbert Samuel in Palestine. It is, however, antagonistic to imperial preference schemes; some members, like Mr. Keynes, would have the process of "friendly disintegration" continue, and point out the huge cost of educating young men and women of intelligence only to have them shipped overseas at the time when they should be beginning their contribution to the national life. In its present state it is hardly in a position to affect policy greatly in a direct way, and it has naturally not given the attention to imperial policy which the more pressing problems at home demand.

The Labour party is in a most interesting position.[30] It contains at present both imperialists and anti-imperialists. Its earlier insular outlook may receive a healthy education through the conferences with the other labor parties of the dominions and India which were instituted in the summer of 1925. The development of imperial attitudes and interests in the Labour party is marked. In former years the lack of acquaintance with the other parts of the empire, and the lack of contact with imperial questions prevented the party from facing imperial problems. But the present economic condition, including unemployment, scarcity of markets, and the cost of foodstuffs, as well as the more doctrinaire declarations of Communist leaders concerning the subject people of the empire have forced new considerations upon the party leaders. In 1925 the first British Commonwealth Labour Conference was held at London at which representatives of the labor parties and trade-union organizations of the dominions, excepting New Zealand, and of India and British Guiana with those of Great Britain met together. At this first conference, it is interesting to find the appearance of genuine differences in outlook between the movements in the various parts of the empire. The dominions, in general, expressed great reluctance at receiving any general emigration from Great Britian into their countries on the ground that such a movement would lower their wages and standards of living. The British, on the other hand, were inclined to resent this as a selfish policy, although sympathetic with the point of view. The most interesting feature, however, in Labour policy is the attempt to work out a proposal for state purchase by Great Britain of food supplies, wool, and other raw materials directly from the dominions to eliminate the middle man. The movement seeks to avoid a policy of Imperial Preference and also of Free Trade. Furthermore, it is evident that whatever may be the rhetorical attacks upon the empire as an exploiter of subject peoples by the Communists and "left wing" trades unionists, the present leaders, confronted with the realities of administering when in office or of dealing directly with the movements in the dominions and India, found themselves accepting the empire as a possible agency for furthering their ideas of a federation of socialist commonwealths. It is interesting, for example, to find Mr. Lansbury saying that "God or nature or cupidity or force has flung us together in some way . . . . and either by accident or by design, we have become part of one another; and whether we like it or not we are related to one another"; while another labor official present at the conference has written that "No important groups or persons in the Labour movement desire the disappearance of the

British Commonwealth." Undoubtedly the movement does resent the use of claims by the Conservative party to be the special defenders of the empire; and Mr. MacDonald, in opening the Conference, staked a counterclaim for his party as being the first to urge a "cooperative unity of nations and coming nations." Colonel Wedgwood in an address at the conference showed some impatience with the reluctance of the Indians to make use of the existing schemes of councils and legislatures for securing labor legislation before attacking Great Britain for its refusal to grant full self-government to India, and throughout the discussions the existence of competition in manufacture based upon cheap labor in the Far East was constantly present. One may say in summary, therefore, that while the more blatant forms of imperial patriotism do not move the leaders of British labor, neither do they have much respect for the attacks upon the empire that are characteristic of the Third International. They are now seeking to develop a policy in regard to it which will integrate the markedly variant interests of the movements of the various parts, and among many the idea of the empire is a source of considerable pride.

It is significant that it was the colonial who was among the first to awaken the new imperialism of the 1870's. The returned colonials, or those who have removed to the mother-country and have entered politics are still a factor in contemporary imperial sentiment, while some parts of the empire, notably New Zealand and British Columbia, and the Anglo-Indians outdo the British Conservatives in attachment to the idea of imperial union.[31] As to the factors enumerated in this chapter, it is significant that imperial preference seems today as far off as in the early days of this century when even Mr. Chamberlain found that infant industries in the colonies stood in the way of his dream, as well as Free Trade sentiment at home. The missionary influence is probably weaker, partly because there are few new regions unexplored or not reached by missionaries already, although both in India and China the missionary groups are an important source of information and opinion. Cultural ties, however, are probably growing stronger as the strains of economic or political issues relax; and the flow of university men, teachers, journalists, travelers, economic or political conferees, clergymen, and royalty increases.[32] Furthermore, the state of Europe leads the British to look more and more to their own empire since there is seen to be little hope of close co-operation with the United States in international affairs. In the education system, the churches, in books for the young and for adults, in poetry and journalism, in pageantry and state observances the idea of empire, the moral duty of "bearing the white man's burden," of peopling the open spaces, influences people in all classes.[33] The citizen of modest circumstances and narrow scope in affairs finds some sense of greatness in the greatness and glory of an empire which was acquired without much thought of him, and which has been developed at times to his own cost through the export of capital that might have modernized industries at home, and of men who might have supplied leadership in solving his domestic problems. The fact that new nations have arisen in the dominions, or that a huge population in the vast area of India is in itself a tremendous problem in religion, economics, and government can only partly reach the average citizen pressed, as he is, with the sheer difficulty of maintaining an adequate standard of life at home.

On Empire Day, 1927, the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, announced the new imperial doctrine.

> There has never been anything like the British Empire in the world before and that is why the word empire sometimes puzzles people. You associate it with Rome, Germany, Austria, Russia, France at different periods in their history. You must try to rid yourself of all those associations. Try to think of it as an old word chosen to represent a new idea. In our thought of empire today there is nothing in the nature of flag-wagging or boasting, of painting the map red; no, only a sense of pride which makes us humble in our own eyes and resolute to make ourselves as worthy as we may of the heritage and responsibilities which are ours. . . . . Let us consider for a moment what we mean by heritage. We have been born into a community settled in a small island, dependent for our food supplies on the produce of countries overseas, and that food we pay for by exporting goods. In these circumstances there inevitably come times when the opportunities of many of our people are restricted. But to us alone are still opportunities denied to other nations. It is open to us to settle and work in any climate we may choose, and in almost any part of the world, and find ourselves among people who speak our tongue, who obey our laws, who cherish the same ideals, who worship with rites familiar to us, who are subjects of the same sovereign. And to this we must devote our best energies in the years to come, Tory, Liberal, and Labour alike, to make our unity such a reality that men and women regard the Empire as one. . . . . To build up new nations overseas, for each of them with ourselves to make her own peculiar contribution to the whole and to make that whole a

great force for righteousness for the world, that is not only the task of statesmen, but it is a task, if it is to be successful, which can only be accomplished by the conscious enthusiasm and participation of our people of all ranks and all classes. . . . . In a world still suffering from the shock of war the British Empire stands firm, a great force for good. Let us then today bear the Empire in our minds and our prayers. It invites and requires some service of us all. . . . . It is a spiritual inheritance which we hold in trust, not only for its members but for all the nations which surround it. Let us see to it that we hand it on to our successors with untarnished glory.

The imperialism of Baldwin or of Milner marks a great change from the day when statesmen at Westminster waited irritably for the "ripe fruit" to drop off the tree, or fought the boredom of a discussion of colonial matters in the House. There are those whose sentiments remain tied to "little England"; partly because they dislike the association of imperialism with the South African War, a tariff scheme, the Rand millionaires, or the Beaverbrook press; partly because they appraise it as more costly than valuable to the mother-country;[34] partly because of humanitarian views concerning the subject peoples; or perhaps for sheer affection for a corner of England which so fills their life that there is no room for the more attenuated ties of a remote empire. But apart from the special factors which are discussed here, for most citizens the empire is a "good show," all the more pleasant for the tingle of moral self-approval for the benefits which the citizen so vicariously confers upon the remote Indian or Negro—not to mention "the nations which surround it." And for a group, at least, it offers a useful alternative symbol and idea as against an extension of the importance of the League of Nations, or a reconsideration of the doctrine and fact of dominant sea power, and it is so employed.

NOTES

1. A recent popular study of the empire is the series in twelve volumes entitled *The British Empire,* edited by Hugh Gunn (New York and London, 1924). The volumes include studies of various aspects of imperial history and contemporary problems such as resources, trade, races, education, migration, etc. For the earlier development of imperial sentiment, I have relied upon C. A. Bodelsen's *Studies in Mid-Victorian Imperialism* (London and Copenhagen, 1924), and for contemporary developments in imperial sentiment Parker Moon's *Imperialism and World Politics* (New York, 1926), apart from the newspapers and journals consulted generally for this study. Of especial interest among memoirs are the latter volumes (by Buckle) of the life of Disraeli, Gwynn and Tuckwell's Dilke, the latter portions of Morley's Gladstone, Gardiner's Harcourt, O. D. Skelton's Laurier, Blunt's Diaries, Sir Harry Johnston's *The Story of My Life,* James S.

Mann's *The Making of an Administrator,* and Strachey's essay on General Gordon in his *Eminent Victorians.* More general treatments are to be found in Egerton's *British Colonial Policy in the Twentieth Century* and Duncan Hall's *The British Commonwealth of Nations.* An interesting case study is Mr. J. A. Hobson's *The War in South Africa,* which may be supplemented by Basil Williams' life of Cecil Rhodes. In Viscount Morley's *Recollections* there are useful reflections by a Liberal on imperial questions, especially on India, while Lord Milner's *Questions of the Hour* has an essay which gives the attitude of a strong Imperialist.

Post War Britain, by André Siegfried, should be read for the brilliant summary of Britain's economic position and its relation to the empire, and for its discussion of the population question and emigration (New York and London, 1925). *The Migration of British Capital,* by Leland Jenks (New York, 1926), is the best account of the rôle of the investor and investment bankers in imperial development down to 1880. Perhaps the most valuable descriptive and analytical studies that could be read on this topic are the works of Bodelsen, Siegfried, Moon, and Jenks. None of these writers are British.

I have drawn very largely from newspapers and from the pamphlet material available at the innumerable imperial societies; and from conversations with officials of many of these societies. Mr. Kingsley Martin, in *Economica,* No. 12 (November, 1924), p. 304, has a suggestive article on "The Development of British Imperialism."

2. This question is discussed in Professor McIlwaine's *The American Revolution* (New York, 1923). The economic issues arising out of the earlier colonial relationships are discussed in the writings of the late Professor G. L. Beers.

3. See the *Report of the Committee on Imperial Relations* (Chairman Lord Balfour) *of the Imperial Conference at London* issued on November 20, 1926, in which a new title for the King was recommended and the questions of status for the dominions and the conduct of foreign policy were discussed. This statement gives a "constitutional" recognition of the complete autonomy of the dominions, and their direct relationship to the Crown rather than to His Majesty's government of Great Britain.

4. P. 193.

5. P. 231.

6. See Bodelsen, pp. 79 *et seq.,* for the change from indifference concerning the colonies and the view that they were a liability to interest and a desire for greater imperial unity. He points out the significant fact that in this change the colonists played an important part because of their loyalty to the old country, and that the new sentiment was developed at a time when German and Italian unification and the developing nationalism of the United States after the Civil War were also striking world-phenomena.

7. P. 325.

8. See Hobson on the complexity of interests which brought about the war situation in South Africa.

9. Alfred, Lord Tennyson, in the 1872 edition of *Idylls of the King* included an "Epilogue to the Queen" which strikes an imperial note. In 1882 his new version of "Hands Across the Sea" was addressed to the empire rather than the United States as was the older version of earlier years; and in 1887 his "Verses on the Jubilee of Queen Victoria" are imperial in theme. Mr. Lytton Strachey's *Queen Victoria* gives in the final chapter an acute analysis of the increasing prestige of the Queen and monarchy as a symbol of empire when the actual powers in government were declining.

10. London, 1901, p. 317.

11. Rosebery had been a president of the Imperial League, one of the earlier organizations devoted to strengthening imperial sentiments.

12. Note how topsy-turvy the relations of parties to the empire have been. The Liberals, supposedly indifferent to the empire (a legacy of the Manchester School criticism of expenditure on the colonies and opposition to imperial tariff schemes) by the policies of granting self-government to Canada, South Africa, and the other dominions actually strengthened the empire; while the Conservatives, who have made much of their claims to be the spokesmen of imperial interests and ideas, by their policies in Europe have at times strained the ties with the dominions, and in negotiating the Locarno Pact actually engaged Great Britain in responsibilities which were not to extend to the other self-governing parts of the empire.

13. The civic attitudes stimulated by Anglo-Irish relations would warrant a separate study in itself, to say the least. The determination to prevent the establishment of a separate government there caused the splitting off of a wing of the Liberal Party known as the Liberal Unionists; but since I am concerned with the contemporary situation, it is here sufficient to notice the fact that the Irish Treaty was ratified by a British government which was supported chiefly by Conservative votes, although headed by a Liberal. It is also significant that such former bitter opponents of such a settlement as Lord Birkenhead were influential in negotiating the treaty. The anti-Home Rule party was influenced by a fear of Catholic control in Irish affairs, by a fear for the estates of English landlords there who were influential members of English society, by a fear that Ireland might become a point of attack for an enemy force in the event of war, and by the cultural and sentimental attachment to the idea of a strong imperial union which such a step would seem to disrupt, and of which the legal status would be only the outward sign of an internal decay. The present development of the Irish Free State would seem to belie these fears; and a parallel situation may be found following the similar grants to Canada and South Africa. It is believed that the Irish settlement would be helpful, also, in bettering relations with the United States, and in the years immediately following the war this point was given much attention. On this, see the *Memoirs* of Sir Almeric Fitzroy for the period.

14. It is interesting to find Bodelsen pointing out that in 1870 a new interest in the empire developed as unemployment and the pressure of foreign competition for markets were factors in British economic life. The present situation in British industry and trade parallels this earlier condition. See Siegfried, *Democracy in New Zealand,* pp. 178, *et seq.* See also "Empire Settlement and Empire Development," by L. S. Amery (the present secretary of State for the Colonies), *Empire Review,* March, April, and May, 1923.

15. Professor Moon (*op. cit.,* pp. 41, 42) notes four men who stand as types "of the many who toiled to extend Britain's empire." They are Sir Harry Johnston, Cecil Rhodes, Sir Edward Grey, and Joseph Chamberlain. One should, I am sure, add to these some representative of the missionary interest, possibly Zachary Macauley or David Livingstone. See Sir Harry Johnston's novels, especially *The Man Who Did the Right Thing,* or Brett Young's *The Harvest Moon* for the network of interests which is attached to imperialism. One important factor in imperial development is the constant stream of ambitious young men who have gone out to find careers in the new lands. This is especially significant for Scotland, and to a less degree, perhaps, Wales. The Act of Union of England and Scotland threw open the empire to the Scotch; and the relative lack of resources compared to the population and its ability in Scotland, especially in view of the high standards of education which have for a long time prevailed there, sent many young men South or overseas. Consequently Scotchmen have occupied

high place in not only British political, economic, journalistic, and religious institutions, but also in those of the dominions. Lord Strathcona was representative of the successful migrants in the empire as Mr. Carnegie was of the Scotch Americans. Of course, a similar spread of Irish carried a body of enmity to and hatred of England to other parts of the world, as the United States and Australia know. When the Indian Civil Service cut down upon its recruiting after the war because of the Indianization of the service the effects were noticed at once among the universities, as it meant the closing, for a time, of one of the attractive careers available in the empire.

16. The British Empire Exhibition at Wembley was one form of advertising of imperial products and resources which was undertaken in recent years. I collected a great number of clippings of articles in the daily papers during my stay which were devoted to the expansion of imperial commerce and industry, and the subject was obviously one which aroused great and even anxious interest in view of the depression in Great Britain. The Conservatives continue to stress the advantages of an imperial preference policy in this connection, although the coolness of some dominions toward such a scheme as well as the opposition of free-trade manufacturers in Great Britain have made such a policy unlikely in the near future. The *Morning Post* of August 12, 1925, had a leader entitled "The Imperial Hope" which illustrates the interest in imperial markets. Two leaders in its issue of July 15, are also pertinent, one on "Overseas Markets," another entitled "Getting Their Goat," a serious disquisition on the error of the government in not using goatskins of imperial goats for the new coverings of the benches in the House of Lords. The *Daily Herald* had much amusement over its declaration that several newspapers of large circulation which had been urging the buying of British goods were found to have recently installed new presses, made in Chicago, U.S.A. (issue of July 14, 1925). Effort is made to induce persons as a patriotic duty to smoke tobacco raised in the empire, drink South African or Australian wines, use imperial fruits and preserves, etc. One of the agencies through which this is attempted is the women's branch of the Conservative Party. The National Union of Citizens stresses this also.

17. See, for example, the "handbooks" on various parts of the empire and the opportunities there issued by this department. At Wembley there was an extensive exhibit by this department as well as by each of the separate units in the empire, all with the object of attracting settlers.

18. The *Daily Herald* and the *New Leader* frequently publish articles warning of unemployment and hard times in the various dominions, and I was told in many industrial centers of the difficulty of interesting most workers in emigration. On the other hand, there is much interest among the more skilled groups, especially in Scotland, in emigration to the United States, since it is assumed that prosperity and good employment generally are to be found there. I judged that some of the animus exhibited by the labor journals and "left wing" speakers against imperial migration was due to their enmity to the Conservative and industrial leaders who may employ such means to distract attention from possible industrial reorganization at home. Labor leaders hold that with a wider sharing of the purchasing power of the labor class in Great Britain sufficient markets would be found to take up the slack of unemployment.

19. I discuss this point in the chapter on the "School System."

20. See Bodelsen for a brief account of its establishment. The new series entitled "The British Empire" cited in the first note to this chapter contains several volumes written by members of the Institute, including one by its Secretary, Sir Charles Lucas, and by its Librarian, Mr. Evans Lewin.

21. This organization has some similarity to, and some influential members in common with, the English-Speaking Union. Its reports and pamphlets and

journal are obtainable at Vernon House, 6, Park Place, St. James's Street, London, S.W. 1. In its descriptive pamphlet it states that it "has never stood for blatant Imperialism or flag-wagging, rather since its inception it has sought to emphasize the tremendous responsibilities incurred by citizenship of the British Commonwealth. . . . . The Over-Seas League, therefore, stands today above all things for the 'new Imperialism' which keeps its eye for ever fixed on the sacredness of the task which has been entrusted to the present generation of the citizens of the sister-nations of the Brittanic Alliance. . . . . A task which implies, not merely the holding high of the torch of progress throughout the British dominions around the seven seas, but also the sponsorship of the small nations and backward peoples throughout the globe. A sponsorship without any tinge of national self-seeking but which implies an overwhelming desire to give a helping hand along the path of freedom and independence to those less fortunately placed than ourselves." The Patron of this organization is His Majesty the King.

22. The publications of the League are obtainable at its headquarters at 22 Eccleston Square, London, S.W. 1. A pamphlet is issued describing its educational work, which includes the administration of a lending library of books on the empire, distribution to teachers, schools, and societies of illustrated lectures on the empire, fostering of Junior Leagues for children, etc.

23. This organization, with its London headquarters at 124 Belgrave Road, S.W. 1, publishes a monthly magazine entitled *The League of the Empire Review,* pamphlet material, and the valuable "Reports on the Interchange of Teachers' Scheme of June, 1923, and of the Conferences on Imperial Education of 1921 and 1924." The latter conference, held in London and attended by distinguished educators as well as official representatives of the educational administrative offices of the various parts of the empire, discussed graduate study in the British universities; training colleges for teachers; the interchange of teachers throughout the empire; the teaching of particular subjects such as history, geography, and English; and training for citizenship. In the discussion of the last subject (pp. 154 *et seq.* of the Report) a South African and a Canadian spoke of "Character Training in Trade Schools" and the "Observance of Empire Day," respectively, while the two speakers from Great Britain were Commander Benbow of the Navy League who discussed the "Sea Cadet Corps Scheme of the League," and the Headmaster and Cadet Colonel of St. Alban's School who spoke on the "Officers' Training Corps in the Public Schools." He remarked that "He did not know whether any country had an organization which was so well developed as the Officers' Training Corps in our Public Schools. Secondary Schools' Cadet Corps were under a cloud at the present time, and some had had to be given up. But it was not in the schools where the want was so important, as with the working lads of fourteen and over who had left school and were cast adrift on the world. They wanted four things: religious instruction; the teaching of duty; practical discipline; and the teaching of arms for defense. . . . ."

The greatest work of this League is undoubtedly its service as the instrument through which teachers in different parts of the empire exchange positions for a year in order to get some acquaintance with other parts of the empire.

24. The pressure of university men upon available jobs in Great Britain is so great that many are seeking careers in the other parts of the empire in university teaching, journalism, and similar employments (as well as, of course, in the United States). The universities are now attempting to develop their work in imperial history. As yet it has been chiefly in the narrow political and diplomatic phases of the subject, rather than inclusive of the development of new cultural interests and outlooks by settlers overseas. This latter is a neglected phase generally.

25. Mr. Aldous Huxley's *Jesting Pilate* (New York and London, 1926), con-

tains some interesting observation and comment on Anglo-Indian society based upon his recent trip around the world. It is most significant that there is no British novelist who has portrayed with any success the society of any one of the dominions, with the exception of Mr. Brett Young's *Pilgrim's Rest,* a novel of South African life, and even here it is the earlier frontier period which he describes. In India, Egypt, East Africa, the British maintain their own culture in little outposts; in the dominions it becomes more and more permeated with the gradual evolution of a new society in new conditions, in which caste and class lines receive a rough shaking up. *Marie Chapdelaine,* a story of the Quebec frontier, is by a Frenchman.

26. New York, 1924. *The Empire Review* has published (1927) a series of articles on "Books as Links of Empire."

27. *Empire and Commerce in Africa,* by Leonard Woolf, London (a report for the Labour Research Department), is a valuable case study of imperial problems in that continent. The rôle of the missionary societies, the rivalry of those of different states, and their influence on foreign offices and opinion is well analyzed on pp. 277–302. Notice the intricacies of motive and attitude of Captain Lugard, the soldier and explorer who entered upon the scene to bring peace and order (as he saw it); the Imperial British East Africa Company, investing in the area discussed, and bringing pressure upon the government and the Missionary Society; the Church Missionary Society; the Prime Minister; and the *Times.* When it all ended with the establishment of British East Africa and Uganda as Protectorates, Mr. Woolf quotes the Church Missionary Society's report as stating that this action "must be regarded as an answer to the Church's prayer." Professor Moon treats briefly of missionary influences also.

28. It is significant that many novels stress the turn in British life, the quickening of tempo, that came with the Jubilee celebrations and the entrance into London life of the many rich colonials and Americans at the close of the last century. To them, the Jubilees seemed to give dramatic expression to the new imperialism. Wembley, the Lord Mayor's Show in 1925, and similar pageantry or fairs are also used to stimulate popular interest and pride in the empire.

29. The strong patriotism of the mother-country and birthplace is seen particularly clearly in New Zealand, where Scotch have reproduced a Scottish culture in Dunedin, and English have reproduced England in Canterbury and Christ Church.

30. There is a historical discussion of *Labour and Empire* by Tingfu S. Tsiang of Nankai University, Tientsin, China, in the "Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law" (New York, 1923). The writings of Mr. Leonard Woolf, Mr. Norman Leys (especially his *Kenya*), and the debates of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party Conference for 1925 are useful for an understanding of the different shades of opinion in the party, while the *New Leader* has published frequently articles by Mr. E. F. Wise and others concerning the development of an imperial policy in relation to state purchases of raw materials. Perhaps the most enlightening document, however, is the "Report of the British Commonwealth Labour Conference" held at London in 1925 (obtainable at 33 Eccleston Square). There is a brief summary of this written by a Labour correspondent present, in the *Round Table* for December, 1925 ("Labour and the Empire"). In this connection, Wilfrid Blunt gives us an interesting conversation with Ramsay MacDonald, who had been brought down to the former's place in order that they might meet. The conversation took place on July 22, 1914, and is to be found in his diaries for that date. "I asked him whether if the democracy really got into power in England the Labour party and the Socialists would continue to be anti-Imperialist. He said: 'I think they would, but I understand your doubt.' "

31. Mrs. Asquith in her *Autobiography*, II, 85, quotes a remark of Kitchener to her as he was returning to Africa soon after the Liberal return to power in 1906: " 'Well, Mrs. Asquith, I have finished with South Africa, but I will give a word of advice to anyone who has to deal with it in the future: if you listen to the Loyalists you are done.' " Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, in his lectures on Thackeray, has some shrewd comments on Anglo-Indians. The works of E. M. Forster, Kipling, and more recently Aldous Huxley have been cited. The best study of the dominion societies of which I have any knowledge is that entitled *Democracy in New Zealand*, by André Siegfried (London, 1914). It is full of very valuable comment and observation on this particular feature of imperialism, especially chapters xvi, xxi, xxvii, and xxviii. Canada has been foremost, undoubtedly, in contributing her sons to the British governing society for among these have been or are Mr. Bonar Law, Sir Hamar Greenwood, Colonel Gault, and Lord Beaverbrook. Lord Strathcona returned to London after he had accumulated a fortune in Canada. The influence of the South Africans is probably less now than earlier in the century, when the gold and diamond mines helped to produce a new crop of millionaires, some of whom gave generously to public causes upon their return to England.

32. There was enormous popular interest in the Prince of Wales' tours throughout the empire both overseas and at home. When in London in 1925, we were impressed both by the amount of newspaper accounts and pictures, and also the display of moving-pictures of the trip in the cinemas.

33. The institutions and interests that represent cultural ties are very numerous, from the Imperial Institute and the museums in Kensington to the fruit displays at Dominion buildings in the Strand. I list here a sampling of the articles on the press during our stay, these being only a portion of our clippings on imperial cultural ties: a *Times* article on the Imperial Institute; a *Post* account of Lord Haig's visit to Canada for a veterans' meeting there; a *Times* article (November 25) on the imperial influences of "Toc H," a kind of brotherhood and social-work organization which grew out of war-fellowships at the front; a church education scheme for Australian settlers; an account of the "Empire Cruise" of the Special Service Squadron around the empire in 1923–24; an account in the *Times* of July 25, of English teachers' visit to Canada; a report in the *Times* of the Imperial Social Hygiene Congress at Wembley; an article in the *Post* on the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture; an editorial in the *Daily Herald* on July 28, entitled "A Great Historical Event," discussing the British Commonwealth Labour Conference; innumerable addresses by royal princes to empire societies; news reports of the trips of the Empire Press Union to Australia and of South African farmers to Great Britain; and frequent receptions in London by Mrs. Baldwin, wife of the Prime Minister, and other prominent persons to overseas visitors.

34. The final chapter of Professor Moon's book, already cited, deals with the question of the relative advantages and disadvantages of imperialism to the various groups interested. During the summer of 1925, when economy was being demanded of the government, there were some voices raised for a reduction by withdrawal from Irak and other areas. This recurrence of the earlier Manchester protests against the expense of colonies was without result.

CHAPTER VI

THE CITIZEN AND POLITICS

The brief description of the characteristic merit of the English Constitution is, that its dignified parts are very complicated and somewhat imposing, very old and rather venerable; while its efficient part, at least when in great and critical action, is decidedly simple and rather modern.—Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution.*

The British system is perfected party government.—Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government.*

The office of an order of nobility is to impose on the common people—not necessarily to impose on them what is untrue, yet less what is hurtful; but still to impose on their quiescent imaginations what would not otherwise be there. The fancy of the mass of men is incredibly weak; it can see nothing without a visible symbol. Nobility is the symbol of mind. It has the marks from which the mass of men always used to infer mind, and often still infer it. A common clever man who goes into a country place will get no reverence; but the "old squire" will get reverence. . . . .

The social prestige of the aristocracy is, as every one knows, immensely less than it was a hundred years or even fifty years since. The rise of industrial wealth in countless forms has brought in a competitor which has generally more mind, and which would be supreme were it not for awkwardness and intellectual gene.—Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution.*

In public affairs, no less than in private, Lord Hartington's decisions carried an extraordinary weight. The feeling of his idle friends in high society was shared by the great mass of the English people; here was a man they could trust. For indeed he was built upon a pattern which was very dear to his countrymen. It was not simply that he was honest; it was that his honesty was an English honesty—an honesty which naturally belonged to one who, so it seemed to them, was the living image of what an Englishman should be. In Lord Hartington they saw, embodied and glorified, the very qualities which were nearest to their hearts—impartiality, solidity, common sense—the qualities by which they themselves longed to be distinguished, and by which, in their happier moments, they believed they were. If ever they began to have misgivings, there, at any rate, was the example of Lord Hartington to encourage and guide them—Lord Hartington, who was never self-seeking, who was never excited, and who had no imagination at all. Everything they knew about him fitted into the picture, adding to their admiration and respect. His fondness for field sports gave them a feeling of security; and certainly there could be no nonsense about a man who confessed to two ambitions—to become Prime Minister and to win the Derby—and who put the second above the first. They loved him for his casualness—for his inexactness—for refusing to make life a cut-and-dried business—for ramming an official dispatch of high importance into his coat-pocket, and finding it there, still unopened, at Newmarket, several days later. They loved him for his hatred of fine sentiments; they were delighted when they heard that at some function, on a florid speaker's avowing that "this was the proudest moment of his life," Lord Hartington had growled in an undertone "the proudest moment of *my* life, was when my pig won the prize at Skipton fair." Above all, they loved him for being dull. It was the greatest comfort—with Lord Hartington they could always be absolutely certain that he would never, in any circumstances, be either brilliant or subtle, or surprising, or impassioned, or profound. As they sat, listening to his speeches, in which considerations of stolid plainness succeeded one another with complete flatness, they felt, involved and supported by the colossal tedium, that their confidence was finally assured. They looked up, and took their fill of the sturdy obvious presence. The inheritor of a splendid dukedom might almost have passed for a farm hand. Almost, but not quite. For an air, that was difficult to explain, of preponderating authority lurked in the solid figure; and the lordly breeding of the House of Cavendish was visible in the large, long, bearded, unimpressionable face.—LYTTON STRACHEY, Essay on "The End of General Gordon," in *Eminent Victorians*.

I have but one idea, which was an idea that I inherited, and it was the idea of service—service to the people of this country. My father lived in that belief all his life, and behind him members of my family, in an obviously more restricted way, practised the same thing. It is a tradition; it is in our bones; and we have to do it. That service seemed to lead one by way of business and the county council into Parliament, and it has led one through various strange paths to where one is. . . . . In the words of the late Master of Balliol, "Nowhere was the village community so real and so enduring a thing as it was in England for at least twelve centuries of its history. In every parish men met almost daily in humble but very real self-government, to be judged by their fellows or fined by them, or punished as bad characters, to settle the ploughing times and harvest times, the fallowing and the grassing rules for the whole village. To these twelve centuries of discipline we owe the peculiar English capacity for self-government, the enormous English development of the voluntary principle in all manner of institutions (clubs, associations, hospitals, joint stock) and the aptitude for colonisation. Our politics, our commercial enterprise, our Colonial Empire, are all due to the spirit of co-operation."—STANLEY BALDWIN, *On England.*

For centuries foreigners have viewed the British political system with a feeling in which envy and admiration have been mingled. In the eighteenth century Voltaire and Montesquieu, in the nineteenth century Woodrow Wilson and Count Cavour, in the twentieth century Walter Rathenau and Prince Lichnowsky have paid tributes to the ability of the British people to govern themselves, and to develop instruments through which the governing processes could be efficiently conducted and the interests of social groups successfully balanced. What is the rôle of the constitutional structure of the political system as a nationalizing force? What social groups are pulled into the currents of British politics, and find representation in the Parliament? How do these active political representatives recruit a wider popular interest in political questions through party activity and organization? What significance has local government in these considerations? Finally, what challenges to this political activity and interest exist?

The first of these questions has been discussed by many British, French, and American historians.

> The state is a fusion of estates, and the fusion was brought to pass in parliament. The indefinite number of estates which gathered at Westminster in the fourteenth century gradually merged into three, which in the sixteenth century were authoritatively defined as crown, lords, and commons; and the three estates of the realm were melted into the national state by the fervor of sixteenth century nationalism. Under Henry VIII its complexion was royal, in the eighteenth century aristocratic, and today it is popular. But the unity wrought in parliament has never been seriously disturbed since the Civil War and the Revolution.[1]

The process of extending the suffrage to successive classes of social importance throughout the last century strengthens the view of Parliament as an institution through which social groups find representation. For votes were carefully meted out, not on the basis of abstract views or natural rights, but in accordance with the strength and importance of each class which arrived at power in the social system. That process has reached virtual completion in our own day as the extension of votes to women symbolizes their arrival in the professions and industry, and the beginning of the reconstruction of family life and the home which that arrival presages.

But in other ways Parliament has been a means of developing a national outlook. In Parliament members from Wales, Scotland, and England have participated jointly. Through their activities there and through the development of party issues, older national ties have become cross-sected, but not obliterated, by newer ties of party, personal leadership, or class or religious interest. Again, through the control over the executive which Parliament has exercised, the vast administrative powers of the government have been wielded with some regard for the diverse national interests represented in the legislature. Through the devices of cabinet responsibility to the Commons, the question hour, and the scrutiny of expenditure—all subject at times to a kind of political anemia, it is true—irresponsible and arbitrary executive power has generally been avoided. The coincidence of political life at Westminster with the other interests of the capital is also important. A career of politics does not lead down a by-way in contemporary British life; it opens up an entrée into the varied interests of the club and the drawing-room, of Fleet Street and the city, of the Inns of Court and of the Whitehall departments.

> I had an interesting conversation with Clynes, whose period of office has clearly been of great educational value: a further proof, if one was needed, of the importance of bringing Labour within the responsibilities of power if it is to enjoy any political training. Clynes had profited greatly by contact with the larger outlook of a man like Lord Rhondda, of whom he spoke with sincere praise.

This comment was made by Sir Almeric Fitzroy during the war (July 13, 1918); but the point which he makes is applicable to peace time also.

But it is the vast extent of power which is entrusted to Parliament which gives it the greatest importance both in attracting representatives of every important section of the social system and in developing a national interest and outlook. Where the power is, those who seek to wield it will be also. The lack of effective constitutional restrictions upon that power, with the exception of the privileged position of the House of Lords, gives free opportunity for seeking through political action important institutional changes. There is a reward for effective political organization, agitation, journalism, and parliamentary effort. It is this which has brought into the national political life each new social group, and created out of the combination of groups something of an integrated community of interests. The greater the success with which this is achieved, the greater the bitterness and anger of those whose interest and hope it is to destroy the system and substitute another.

We have noted an exception to the general freedom from restraint upon legislating which is created by the special position of the House of Lords. While the Parliament Act of 1911 restricted the power of that chamber to a "suspensive veto," the revival of its full power to revise or defeat the proposals of the Commons would undoubtedly create a fierce resentment in the Liberal and Labour parties which might lead to a definitely anti-parliamentary attitude by a considerable section of citizens. It is true that successive additions to the peerage have reflected changing social conditions. The landed aristocracy have been watered down, so to speak, with financial, journalistic, commercial, and industrial magnates, and even, to be paradoxical, with brewers. There is also the section of representatives of the hierarchy of the Church of England.

> The House of Lords, which is generally supposed to represent exclusively the land-owning interests will be found to contain representatives of 761 companies—even more, in fact, than are represented in the House of Commons. While 242 Lords represent the land-owning interests, 227 of which own a known acreage of 7,362,009 acres, 272 Lords are directors of companies. The sixty-nine insurance companies have 106 representatives. Forty-two banks have sixty-six representatives; finance, land and investment have seventy-nine representatives, railways sixty-four, engineering and shipbuilding forty-nine, and other mining (mostly gold) twenty-nine. It should be noted that company promoters are said to make special efforts to induce peers to become directors, because their names inspire confidence. Peers and other persons of rank or fame who act in this capacity are termed "guinea pigs."[2]

The presence in the House of Lords of distinguished sailors, soldiers, and civil servants is not enough to remove the belief that it is substantially representative of wealth, and of wealth free from the restraints which popular elections impose. In its attitude toward economic issues—the land, the drink trade, taxation, trades unions —or toward education and the Established church, a definite class bias is inevitable. For this reason, if the Conservative party were to pass legislation "reforming" the House of Lords by leaving with a body substantially hereditary powers of revision, the freedom of an open field to parliamentary power would be seriously invaded and a definitely anti-parliamentary movement would arise. On this the opinion of even the most conservative Labour leaders is clear. "I am frankly prepared to admit," says J. H. Thomas, "that there are very natural differences of opinion in the Labour movement regarding the value of a Second Chamber, but there is complete unanimity in Labour's assertion that all hereditary influence must be wiped out; and this objection to heredity, it may be pointed out, is not solely confined to the Labour Party."[3] And the Webbs remark of the Lords:

> It is the worst representative assembly ever created, in that it contains absolutely no members of the manual working class; none of the great classes of shopkeepers, clerks, and teachers; none of the half of all the citizens who are of the female sex; and practically none of religious non-conformity, of art, science or literature. Accordingly it cannot be relied on to revise or suspend, and scarcely even to criticise, anything brought forward by a Conservative Cabinet, whilst obstructing and often defeating everything proposed by a Radical Cabinet. . . . . There is, of course, in the Socialist Commonwealth, no place for the House of Lords, which will simply cease to exist as a part of the Legislature. Whether the little group of "Law Lords," who are now made peers in order that they may form the Supreme Court of Appeal, should or should not continue, for this purely judicial purpose, to sit under the title, and with the archaic dignity of the House of Lords, does not seem material.[4]

It is significant of the atmosphere of the peerage that despite many elevations to the peerage by Liberal governments during the past century, the overwhelmingly Conservative complexion of the House of Lords remains. There is a steady procession to the right when the new members assume their robes.

If the House of Lords continues to decline in political power, however; if it develops as a debating body, in which views which are unpopular at the moment may be stated nevertheless (as occurred during the World War), it may continue to exist, living upon the prestige which title and place give in British—and indeed in world—society. Fat volumes of memoirs of peers will continue to crowd the shelves of Hatchard's, in Piccadilly; races and hunts will be attended by them; and they will proceed dutifully to Cowes or the Riviera or the moors in the due season. The honor of a peerage may continue to reward the servant of the public, and the aged politician may find a mellow relief from electioneering and the business of the House of Commons without sacrificing all connection with politics. We can but suspect that its ties with British society are too numerous and subtle to be suddenly severed either by a panic among its friends or an uprising among its somewhat indifferent enemies.

It is in the Commons, however, that power resides. Since Salisbury every Prime Minister has been a Commoner. And within the Commons, it is the party which is important. There are, however, certain areas of political policy which generally lie outside the boundaries of partisan combat. Private bills, for example, are considered without regard to party lines; but recently something of a party division is appearing here because of the effort of Conservatives to limit the powers of municipalities, and those of Labour members to widen them. The great mass of administrative policies continue unchecked by Parliament regardless of the party in power; practice and tradition grow by accretion, like some coral structure, with clauses added now by a Conservative government, regulatory orders added by a Liberal government, new categories to which the rules are applied added by a Labour government. What is more important, however, is the privileged position of the departments charged with administering foreign relations and defense, especially the Admiralty.[5] The presumption is in favor of continuity of policy; because it is clear that this island state with a world-empire is dependent, in any controversy with powers jealous of its vast possessions, upon an unsleeping watchfulness of the course of events in the various centers of world-power and upon a powerful navy to protect its shores and its lines of communication. How far Cabinets can or should conceal from Parliament the development of informal diplomatic relationships with foreign states is a matter which is disputed; but it is at least responsible for the formation of the Union for Democratic Control during the war, an organization whose membership was drawn chiefly from the Liberal and Labour parties, and which contributed several members to the Labour Cabinet in 1924. It is clear, at any rate, that a policy which Lord Lansdowne initiated at the foreign office during a Conservative government was developed by his Liberal successor, Lord Grey; while the coming into office of the Labour government in 1924, coinciding with the downfall of Poincaré and the elevating of Herriot to the premiership in France, led to a new development of British foreign policy on the Continent, although in other respects—notably colonial affairs and the relations with Egypt and India—British policy remained much the same.

Apart from these special areas it is possible to speak of a "House of Commons atmosphere." A member may be spoken of approvingly as a true "House of Commons man." All this, indeed, is natural and inevitable. The corporate life of a legislative body has its demands upon the feelings and sentiments of its members. The dining-room, the smoking-room, and the terrace have their rights as well as the place of combat. Nor need the combat, indeed, be interminable, or the issue a party one.

> It is in fact a real advantage in any parliamentary system that there should be certain acknowledged common ground between parties which enables them to tap each other's experience and keep their normal warfare within bounds. The task of government is enormously aggravated when any party regards another as outside the pale and denies it the courtesies which make administrative work smooth and agreeable. To interpret this part of public life as a deliberate attempt to hoodwink the public is a complete misunderstanding. Real intimacies between men of opposite opinions are as rare in the political as in the other walks of life, but when politicians boycott each other it is a sign of temper rather than of conviction. . . . . But this is not to say that a politician does well to seek the favours of the other side. . . . . Campbell-Bannerman, the most courteous and sociable of men, never disguised his opinion that London society was bad for radical politicians. "You couldn't," he used to say, "be perpetually in the company of people who thought your opinions disreputable without wishing to tone them down to prove yourself respectable."[6]

What relationships there are between members of the opposing parties, what conversations are held in country-houses where members of different parties may meet so casually, we generally know only long after, when the memoirs appear. But the memoirs are a monument to the existence of a substratum of sentiment and ideas below the levels of party welfare which are useful in moderating, in normal times, the course of politics at Westminster and upon which the shrewd political leader seeks to build when a crisis develops. Not the least of the interesting and important challenges raised by the advent of the Labour party is its attitude toward this situation.

The Conservative members include a substantial representation of families which are also represented in the House of Lords; of landowners; of trade and commerce; of the professions, journalism, and publishing. The Liberal group has been small in numbers since the election of 1918, and it is difficult to find any general strains which give it substantial color. Broadly speaking it is divided between the professions and trade and commerce, with a small number of representatives of the landed aristocracy. Since the Labour party has only in the past ten years returned a large number of members, one is justified in giving in more detail certain facts concerning those who were members of that group in the last two parliaments. Of 192 Labour members concerning whom there are biographical data, 153 were trade-union officials; 15 were business men; 7 clerical workers; 35 professional men, including 8 lawyers, 3 preachers, 16 teachers, and 5 doctors. There are other striking facts concerning them. Forty-five of the Labour members have been lay preachers in the various dissenting sects chiefly; of the 45 who have attended universities, 6 are former students of Ruskin College, the Labour college at Oxford. Equally significant is the fact that 133 have served on local government boards and councils, and 55 on committees and boards of co-operative societies. Twenty-eight have been active in pacifist organizations and movements, including 7 who served prison terms during the war as conscientious objectors. Twenty-five saw active service in the various services during the war. While most Conservative and Liberal members are graduates of the more famous public schools and of Oxford or Cambridge, there were but three public-school men among the Labour members; the Conservatives are for the most part members of the Established church, the Labour members are more often affiliated with non-conformist churches, only one member, incidentally, being recorded as a Jew. The Conservative group contains several members of "overseas" origin.

The Conservative members fairly represent, therefore, the older governing class tradition modified by the adherence of those middle-class business representatives who have come over in the afterwar period when the Liberal party was being crushed between the two extremes. The Liberal party group is still too small and too affected by the recent split in the party to enable one to generalize; it has left some reminiscences of its "Celtic fringe" of Cornwall, Wales, and Scotland, although the mining districts which it once held have been lost to Labour along with the industrial districts of the Clyde. The Labour group is a most interesting subject of analysis. Its basis is in the trade-union officialdom; added to this is the group of older Labour politicians, of whom Clynes, Henderson, Snowdon, and McDonald are typical. But in addition there have come over from the Liberal party several recruits of the former governing class tradition. Experience in local government and in trade-union and co-operative society affairs has given Labour members a useful if limited introduction to problems of administration and policy formulation. The ethical criteria of political issues which many members apply has grown out of the strong church associations of the older members, associations for the most part in those sects in which lay participation is greatest. While most members of the group have traveled little, a small number have some acquaintance with Europe or portions of the empire, and the affiliations with the international political and industrial working-class movements gives another shading to their outlook on foreign affairs.

From the Conservative group comes the stronger and more sustained interest in imperial problems, from Labour in education, since it is that class which will profit most by an extension of the system of state education; from the Conservatives comes the greatest pressure for reduction of expenditure except for the armed services, from Labour for an extension of social services. It is the effort of the smaller group of Liberals to avoid attachment to either a trade-union or an employer's point of view in economic legislation, to oppose further effort to develop a protective tariff, to urge a foreign policy oriented toward the utilization of the League of Nations, and in general to occupy a middle ground between the two larger party groups. Within these, there are, in turn, two sections (at the least) that can be discerned. The Conservative party has long possessed a section of "Die-Hards," extremists in economic, international, and imperial policy, and of "Tory Democrats," spiritual descendents of the Disraeli doctrines of *Sybil* and *Coningsby*, who hold that the assured economic and social position of the aristocracy confers upon its members the responsibility of initiative and leadership in attacking the problems confronting the state without invidious class bias. Among the Labour members is a division between those who would continue the older parliamentary tradition as the institution through which they would urge the socialist position, who accept the regular alternatives of government and opposition and the rules of the social and political game; and those who would use parliamentary institutions along with the power of the trades unions, as a means through which the existing order would be fundamentally transformed into the Socialist Commonwealth without any considerable respect for the traditions of parliamentary life. The latter tend to view the Labour group as agents of the labor movement; the former as representatives of the movement, but even more as a part of the national parliament and subject to the normal metes and bounds of parliamentary action. In all groups the several sections are constantly affected by the personalities of various leaders, and the shifting of opinion as new issues develop; that is, they are typical social groups.

If one were to say of modern politicians that they give to party what is meant for mankind, the judgment would be at best superficial. Party systems have become inevitably a part—and a very large part—of any constitutional system; and constitutional systems are channels through which a part of the movements for social reconstruction flow. The effective politician must, therefore, engage in party affairs. It is right that he should be active in party organization work and party conferences. It would be wrong of him to avoid this. How, in Britain, is this accomplished? How does the party system stimulate civic attitudes among a number of citizens, and by bringing them into the machinery of government, attach them to the active parts of the British state?[7]

Beyond the smaller circle of the party groups in Parliament lies the outer mass of the parties. Within each constituency exists in each party an organization and often a paid electoral agent. Within this unit are smaller local units consisting of party clubs and associations. Forming a federation of constituency units are district units; and finally we have the national party organization, comprising roughly the annual conference of representatives from the local and district units, with central executive committees and staffs at the headquarters in London. Under these staffs are special services—publications, speakers, research, finance, and the like. In addition there are special sections or organizations for women and for youths. Between this group and the party whips at Westminster are relations of greater or less cordiality, depending upon personalities and issues. Between the annual conferences and the parliamentary leaders there is a similar flux of sentiments; irresponsible talking conferences can go farther than responsible party leaders, administering the government or hopeful of doing so, are generally willing to go.

The extent of party activity throughout the country is great, and that activity is continuous. This is partly due to the fact that elections may be held suddenly with a "snap" dissolution of Parliament. It is also due to the fact that through party activity a number of people obtain a certain cultural and social expression. For, in addition to the party activities which are found in all states in which representative institutions exist, the holding of public meetings, putting up (or tearing down) of flamboyant posters, the waging of journalistic warfare, the British local party clubs engage in much house to house canvassing by unpaid party workers, in social activities such as whist drives, tea parties, choral societies, dramatics, debates, *char-à-banc* trips, and vacation parties.[8] In recent years party summer schools have been developed in which the lay members and workers in the parties meet to hear lectures by various leaders and publicists and to discuss political questions in an environment of social and recreational enjoyment which creates that corporate group feeling so characteristic of British civic activity. The financing of the parties has been aided in the past both by the participation in politics of well-to-do persons and by the use of "honors" as a source of contributions. The Labour party has been aided by the "political levy" of the trades unions—the regular contributions of members to campaign funds.

There are other party organizations besides these conventional forms found in most states. Within each of the parties are sections organized by and for women citizens; and each has a section for young people. There is the Primrose League, an association of Conservatives (taking its name from the presumed favorite flower of Lord Beaconsfield) with an elaborate hierarchy of officers and many local units or "habitations." The youth of this party are recruited through the Junior Imperial League. The Liberals have a Young Liberals League; within the Labour party is the Social Democratic Federation (now of little importance), the Fabian Society, and the Independent Labour party. The organization of the Labour party has certain differences from that of the other parties. Its membership is drawn from local, divisional, and national trade-union groups, certain affiliated societies, and individuals who subscribe to the party program. It possesses a power of stimulating a more national outlook than the classes from which it is recruited might otherwise possess, since it offers to ambitious young men and women of the working-class a political career parallel to or associated with that which they might follow in the trade-union movement, and since it supplies in many industrial districts a social life for the rank and file of the members. A Liberal journalist writes:[9]

> The Labour Party has undoubtedly opened a new world and created a new career for the workers. The ambitious young workman need no longer think of himself as chained to his workshop, or cut off by evil circumstances from the glittering prizes of the big world without. If he proves himself competent and useful to his fellows, he may mount by regular steps from his workshop to the highest place of the land. It is as open to him to make himself famous or notorious as to any of the prize lads from the public schools and universities. The stages in this ascent are well marked. He may become trade-union organizer, get elected to local bodies, make his mark at the Trade Union Congress, and thence become a candidate for Parliament. His pay is modest but sufficient; his expenses are paid for him, and when he gets into Parliament his M.P.'s salary will keep him afloat. . . . . The party has an imposing façade of middle-class and professional men on its front bench, but the great majority of its members started life as workmen and have reached their present position through their services to trade unions.

This is, perhaps, too optimistic a view of the opportunities which young trade unionists possess in the movement; but the fact is clear that through the movement a vast amount of political ambition and ability is harnessed to the national political system rather than drained off in trivial affairs or definitely disruptive agitation which would develop were these energies thwarted.

No adequate appraisal of the movement should neglect the work of the Independent Labour party, containing (from its historic development) much of the emotional drive and intellectual vitality of crusaders from without the trade-union world as well as from within.[10] This is the group which has engaged in constant propaganda by speech and pen, poster, song and play, for a socialist commonwealth. From it has come much of the stimulus for extended party educational effort, and for pressure upon the parliamentary leaders for more radical policies and tactics. Each week the pages in its journal, the *New Leader*, which are devoted to reports of its local units supply the picture of varied social, recreational, and cultural interests so important to an understanding of the movement. Through these activities, sectional as they are, the members are reconstructing their own view of a national life which integrates with that of the larger movement and with the national literature, music and dances, and love of countryside. Through this group a continuous pressure for a peace policy in international relations is urged also. The Fabian Society is another interesting example of the way in which British civic institutions utilize varied groups and attitudes.[11] Originating as a discussion group of "intellectuals" among whom were many distinguished persons such as the Webbs, Shaw, Wallas, and others, it has remained as a definite center to which the university man—or others—with interests in the labor movement and social reconstruction could affiliate. This group has remained in touch with administrative, political, journalistic, and educational groups, and through its publications and studies has exerted an influence in shaping political thought out of all proportion to its size. These two societies help to explain the presence in the Labour party of many young university men and women. Some of these, no doubt, are "careerists"; that is the penalty which the party will pay as it achieves a relative success. But the more important fact about the party is that it serves, in a society in which not many can hope to rise out of the class in which they are born, to mitigate this situation by providing a career and a range of recreational and cultural interests within the bounds set by the social scheme.

Some indication should be given here of the attitudes which the various parties seek to stimulate. Enough has been said to enable these to appear from the groups affiliated with each. The Conservative party constantly preaches patriotism and the greatness of the empire, and accuses the Labour party of being under the intellectual if not actual leadership of Moscow.[12] Through its journals it urges the public to buy British and empire products; it upholds the armed forces; it attacks what it asserts is an abuse of power by the trade unions in preventing a reduction of costs by a reduction of wages. That it has succeeded in implanting a genuine fear of Bolshevism in the minds of many middle-class citizens is clear when one goes about the country and discusses politics with them. Nevertheless it has behind it a substantial labor vote, partly due to the fact that it has granted and can give in the future many social services which its control of the upper chamber might delay or defeat if offered by either of the other parties; and it has flourished on the traditional desire of the British lower classes to be represented by a person connected with the famous governing families and socially distinguished. Nor can we neglect the strain of Tory democracy which supplies the complement to this situation.

Traditionally associated with non-conformity and sections of the working-class, on the one hand, and Free Trade manufacture, commerce, and finance on the other, the Liberal party has seen one group enter the Labour party and a portion of the other the Conservative party in the period since the war. It still possesses, however, a good press, able "intellectuals," and a position in many districts in which it is the most possible alternative to Conservative success. With a number of competent politicians among its membership, many with excellent administrative records, it may be able to overcome the handicap of the personal dissensions which have weakened it.

The Labour party urges a program of general social reconstruction, evolved both out of its economic position and the intellectual and religious background of sections of its membership. It is strongly attached to a policy of extending education opportunities, and it is pacifist in general foreign policy, although it possesses few individuals with a background of knowledge of foreign countries. Partly through sentiment for a "workers' republic," but more from a desire to secure new markets wherever possible and to revive trade, it urges relations with the Soviet government. It has been less interested in imperial questions, although committed in the abstract to the recognition of the national interests of the constituent members of the empire.

The more widespread interest in political personalities and dramatic struggles is marked by political journalism. The columns of gossip in the daily and weekly journals, the presentation of political news with conscious and recognized party bias is evidence of this. Even during so prolonged and critical an industrial dispute as the Coal Strike of 1926, it was the maneuvers of party leaders in the House to achieve a settlement which secured the most space in the press. The publication of memoirs of even the lesser-known politicians is not stopped by rising costs of paper and printing. There is a recognized style of "smart" writing employed by parliamentary journalists in depicting the intimacies of political life. It is interesting to see that here, too, the new Labour members get into the columns of the dailies and weeklies, and are pictured in the illustrated journals.

Participation in local government has brought many citizens within the ambit of civic life. Historically this derives from the obligation which rested upon the citizen to share in administering the affairs of the communty. It has been strengthened by self- and class interest as the stakes of power in local government have become more valuable, and by the existence of a sense of civic obligation that is a heritage of the governing class. The Webbs remark:[13]

> It was, indeed, this principle of obligation to render public service, a principle coming down from time immemorial, that was, and remained far into the eighteenth century, the axle round which revolved all old-established local institutions, whether manorial or parochial, of the Borough or of the County. . . . . They included, not merely the duty to obey, but also a direct charge on the will to act. They involved not only personal responsibility to a superior, but also such power over other persons as was incidental to the due performance of the public services. Thus, however men might differ in faculties and desires, or in status and fortune, they were all under obligations to serve in one way or another. . . . . It was a moral disaster that the public duties and obligations of citizens, as distinguished from their private interests and needs, should have been, by the Utilitarian reformers of 1832–36, so entirely ignored. . . . . It is significant of the slow and gradual evolution of English institutions that, in 1922, after nearly another century of extensive changes, we find still in existence all of the old principles that characterized the institutions of the close of the seventeenth century. Thus the citizen's obligation to serve gratuitously in public office continues in the Jury and High Sheriff. Under the Act of 1872, residents may still be appointed to serve as Parish Constables if the Justices in Quarter Session think this necessary (sec. 92). The liverymen of the City Companies fictitiously representing the old-established trades, still elect the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of London, whilst in some other ancient Municipal Corporations the Freemen still enjoy privileges. The principle of co-option not only survives in the Aldermen, but has been introduced at various points in the municipal organization of the new public services of Education and Health. . . . .

The extent of local services is now great; and it is striking that the process of extension has been instigated in different places by conservatives as well as radicals. In Birmingham the tradition of municipal enterprise has been fostered by the Chamberlains, two of whom occupy Cabinet posts in a Conservative government; in Manchester by Liberals; in Bradford, by Labour. Nevertheless the effort of the Labour party to secure by a process of "gradualness" municipal socialism, and in some areas to use the powers of the Poor Law Guardians to maintain certain income standards for the working-classes has naturally aroused the strong opposition of propertied groups upon whom the burden of the rates falls in the first instance. The increase of labor power in local government, however, is only one more example of the fact that this class is finding opportunity for expression through the old governing institutions. Other classes have had and continue to have their power—the landed gentry in the rural areas, the substantial business and professional classes and the brewers in the cities. The elected bodies have added to their own committees through co-option persons possessing special qualifications or interest; while working directly under these committees are the permanent experts. Clearly this constitutes an educative process for the participants, a process through which a tang of reality is brought into political life. To it the local Labour parties have added in recent years their crusading fervor; but the extent of popular participation remains more limited in all classes than that represented by the interest in national elections and issues. There remain, however, representatives of that class of citizens who have contributed, from their assured social and economic position, time and energy to the local community. Typical of these is E. D. Simon. Writing of his experience in *A City Council from Within*,[14] he comments:

> This cynical attitude towards municipal service is unfortunately common amongst all classes. During my first year as a councillor the three representatives of my ward held a well advertised public meeting to report on their work. The audience numbered sixteen! And that is a usual experience.

The exercise of the powers of local authorities from a class bias and in the interest of a class (doubtless frequently unconsciously) has undoubtedly stimulated strong resentment in certain areas.[15] In the rural districts, the old alliance of squire and parson gave a privileged status to the landed interest and to the interests of the church in education; in cities, the pressure of private business interests to keep down expenditure, or of the drink trade to secure freedom from various legal restraints, have been divisive rather than community-building forces. Against these must be set the pride in successful municipal services, the formalities and ceremonies which surround the Lord Mayor and his associates upon civic occasions, and the enlistment of ambitious young politicians of all classes in the machinery of government which local elections provide. In recent years there has been further evidence of the importance of local governmental problems in the amount and importance of legislation enacted by Parliament and the scrutiny given by Cabinets and Royal Commissions concerning this subject. Something like a revolution in local finance is embodied in the new Rating Act, while powers, areas, the poor law, and similar questions are knocking at the door for consideration. Thus issues that emerge from the various and complicated paths of local government obtrude themselves into the High Court of Parliament.

Parliamentary institutions, like religion, are always "going through a crisis." During and since the World War innumerable warnings have been uttered of the collapse of responsible Cabinet government. Many of these warnings are obviously derived from party or factional sources. A dislike of Lloyd George, or a sentiment that, while two parties are company, three are a nuisance (at least for two of them) are not sufficiently broad bases for an adequate constitutional theory. Nevertheless, since we have examined here the ways in which the political system stimulates a national attitude and a community of interests and experience among different groups and classes, we at least owe it to the Cassandras if not to the claims of objective research to appraise the challenging forces of "direct action" wherever they may be found. We have seen that Parliament and the life of politics have supplied a means of integrating various national interests through their functions, practices, and associations. May we not find a possibility of social disorganization at those points at which parliamentary conventions and practices are inadequately observed? Recent political history supplies an answer.

Prior to the war three movements reflected the willingness of citizens to reject the authority of Parliament because of a conviction that it had acted through partisan bias or invaded the "rights" of subjects. Non-conformists were convinced that the Conservative party, under Mr. Balfour, had granted too great powers and privileges to the Church of England; they were equally convinced that the defeat of Liberal measures in the House of Lords which had been introduced to remedy this injustice was instigated by a faction in which the bishops led. Some refused to pay their rates rather than contribute to the support of schools in which the religious teachings were controlled by the Church of England.

Parliamentary authority was flouted by the militant suffragists also; partly, however, to secure public notice to their movement and to force consideration of their proposals upon politicians and people. But by far the most serious attack upon the finality of parliamentary authority was that made by the leaders of the Conservative party in their support of that section of Ulster which opposed the granting of Home Rule to an Ireland in which Ulster would be included. In this episode it was from the extreme Right that the threat of violence came. It was Bonar Law, F. E. Smith, Sir Edward Carson, and the conservative aristocracy of church, army, land, and law that approved of the arming and drilling of the Ulster Volunteers, just as during the debates over the Parliament Act of 1911 it was the young "bloods" of that class who howled down the Prime Minister and sabotaged parliamentary institutions. The first two illustrations from recent history do not impress one with the sense of a powerful revolt from parliamentary traditions; but the attitudes of the Conservative leaders both during the debates on the Parliament Act but much more during the Home Rule controversy raise the ugliest of suspicions concerning the sincerity of those "constitutionalists" who "view with alarm" the rise of the trades-union movement. At a threat to two of the cardinal policies of their section—the reservation of a vested privilege of control of the House of Lords and the special protection of the vested interest of a cultural, religious, landed group from the operation of the Home Rule Act—they were prepared to support armed rebellion, attempt to secure the independent intervention of the King (against the constitutional conventions) and intrigue for the support of members of their caste in high position in the army. Against these claims their reply would be that they were not attacking a national policy; that on the contrary Parliament had been used by a handful of Irish Nationalists who had secured the support of the Liberal party in return for the votes that might keep the Liberals in office; and that by maintaining the union, protecting the national church and the rights of property they were making the greatest of sacrifices for the state. The important fact that the student observes, however, is that only the coming of the World War suppressed this ugly situation; and after the war, when Home Rule for Ireland again became a pressing political question, the supporters of Ulster were successful through compromise and threat in buying off the exemption of Ulster from inclusion in the new Irish Free State, and later in securing the control over the disputed frontier. Parliamentary institutions remained supreme—at a price.[16]

During the World War the rise of the executive to almost absolute power and the enormous extension of executive control over national life was duplicated in most of the warring states. A War Cabinet was established, represented in the House of Commons by a member to whom the leadership of the House was assigned; the Prime Minister was above the battle, and through the prestige of his office, his personality, his relations with leaders of various groups within and without the House, became increasingly remote from the ordinary House of Commons atmosphere and influences. When this state of affairs was continued after the war, the spokesmen of interests and groups affected adversely raised the cry of constitutional usurpation. The fact that with the downfall of the Coalition a period of "normalcy" in parliamentary institutions was resumed suggests that possibly the most serious danger (from the point of view of the older governing classes) was the invasion of politics by a new set, "a lot of hard-faced men who look as though they had made a good thing out of the war," newspaper proprietors, industrialists, and their professional representatives. Writing of this period, one journalist remarked:

> The direct action party in Labour politics, which seeks to accomplish its ends by economic pressure without reference to the slower methods of Parliamentary persuasion, everyone knows. But there has grown up in Government quarters a direct action party which likes to appeal to the sovereign people direct, through the Press now that the platform is losing its power, and over the heads of its constitutional representatives in the Commons. The extreme jealousy which Parliament shows towards the newspapers is not without cause, for there has been a sensible change in the balance of the constitution; it is like the old jealousy which the senate had towards the *comitia* and the *forum* in the later days of the Roman Republic. Between the vast ochlocracy of the electorate which is easiest reached through the megaphone of the newspapers and the Triumvirate of the Inner Cabinet, the representative system is in danger of being crushed out.[17]

It is possible that such outcries as this (and one still hears them) are protests against the breaking down of the barriers with which the older governing class surrounded itself, and through which, indeed, in its turn and time, it was able to enter the pleasant pastures of privileged political power. The newcomers are naturally as unwelcome as the commercial, industrial, and financial magnates were in 1832 to the landed aristocracy; while in the eighteenth century the nabob returning with the loot of India had also to pass through his period of purgatory in which he played the rôle of the new rich and the upstart. It is possible that far from weakening the nationalizing force of political life, the new invasions will, as before, strengthen it; while the power of the press is not necessarily superior to that of the party organizations, as the story of the rise of the Labour party illustrates. It would be all the better for the strength of parliamentary institutions if the great industrialists and their spokesmen in journalism and the law were to seek expression through political institutions; it would be more a source of danger were they to ignore them. That is what the leaders in the coal industry attempted to do during the Coal Strike of 1926, and, having early secured legislation favorable to themselves, they suddenly discovered that there was no effective national organization of the coal owners through which a national policy could be secured either by law or negotiation. It is possible that in this kind of direct action there is far greater danger to social integration and the peaceful adjustment of social classes than in the entrance into party and parliamentary life of the new economic magnates.

To the average British citizen, however, direct action connotes the pressure of the trade unions through their industrial strength and the use of the strike weapon. The formation of a Council of Action by the trade unions in 1920 with the object of preventing further warfare with Russia by means of industrial action is one of the earliest examples of an important tendency. Commenting on this, the *Manchester Guardian*[18] remarked:

> More and more the imperfections of our present system of representation and of the machine of Government are coming to be felt. Labour, on its actual voting strength at the general election, ought to have nearly three times its present representation in the House of Commons, and if it had had this it might have felt rather differently about Parliament, as Parliament would undoubtedly have felt differently about it. This House is not fairly representative of the country, and the Government is not adequately controlled by the House. This is not democratic government in any adequate sense; it is a veiled oligarchy which pays no more heed to the wishes of the country than it thinks its own ultimate safety demands, and in the hands of a clever manipulator like the present Prime Minister becomes something not very unlike a Government by one man. Lastly, the lack of guiding principle in the conduct of public affairs during the past two years has bred a mistrust which is bound to react on the respect for Government and the willingness to abide by the decisions of the constituted authorities. All this

has to be borne in mind if we would try to judge fairly of the motives at the back of the responsible Labour leaders who have taken upon themselves to adopt a course in itself so irresponsible.

This incident may be discounted because of the extraordinary post-war situation in Parliament and the world generally; but there are a number of other episodes which have occurred in the past few years that warrant appraisal. "In Britain we have so far had neither a violent social revolution nor any important attempt to bring one about," remarked Graham Wallas in 1919.[19]

> But the tendency towards vocational organization has in certain essential respects gone further in Britain than in any other nation with a continuous social history. Britain is the only great nation in which the industrial and intellectual employees form a clear majority over any combination of the agricultural population and the non-employed class. Therefore in Britain, though a class-conscious Labour Party has never formed a government, the vocational tendency among manual and intellectual workers has exercised an effective pressure on the policy of both the traditional political parties. The Trade Unions and the old and new professional organizations include each year a larger proportion of the British population. In 1890 about 20 per cent of the adult male manual workers of Great Britain were members of Trade Unions, and in 1920 more than 60 per cent. In 1920 the National Union of Teachers had over 102,000 members, the Union of Post Office Workers 90,000, and the National Union of Clerks 55,000. Some of these organizations are, like the Trade Unions, independent of the state, though they possess strong parliamentary influence, receive many statutory rights, and, by the threat of "direct action," constantly compel the government to negotiate with them. Sometimes they are voluntary organizations of state or municipal officials, which, like the Postmen's Union, and the National Union of Teachers, are more or less "recognized" by their official employers. Sometimes a profession closely organized (like law, medicine, the army and navy, and the Church) is so related to the state that it is difficult to decide whether it should be called a profession entrusted by the state with certain functions, or a professionalized department of the state. These bodies have, from the point of view of their members, the great advantage over parliamentary democracy that the pressure which an individual member may hope to exercise over the actions of the community is continuous.

Since this statement was made, there has been both a relative and an absolute decline in the membership of the trade unions; but other developments must be noticed. There has been a tendency for the Trade Union Congress to strengthen (not without opposition from the sectionalism of the constituent bodies) the General Council which has been set up. This Council might, it was felt, become a central staff for directing the strategy and tactics of the movement between the annual meetings of the Congress. In 1925 the Congress voted that permissive powers be given it to establish its own research and other staffs and offices separate from those of the Labour party. Many people have taken this as an indication of antagonism on the part of the industrial side of the Labour movement to the slower evolutionary and parliamentary atmosphere which surrounds the political leaders. The sending of delegations from the Trade Union Congress to Russia and the receipt of official delegates from the Russian Trades Unions despite the severance of such relations in Continental labor movements is a further example of the tendency of the Congress to develop of its own initiative a political as well as industrial policy, removed from the parliamentary situation. Finally, within the Labour party itself a plan of liaison between the executive committee of the National Conference of the party and the members of the party in Parliament is to be noted. The control over formulation of policy and supervision of administration would come to rest not upon the Cabinet but ultimately upon a group responsible to the whole party outside Parliament. J. A. Spender asserts:[20]

> Broadly the question at issue is whether Government is to serve all classes and the whole country or whether it is to be the instrument of one party and class; and correspondingly whether the Member of Parliament is, in Blackstone's phrase, to "advantage the Commonwealth as a whole" or merely his own class or craft. That the Labour party has definitely decided for the second of these principles against the first need not for a moment be alleged, but a series of separate steps, each of which may look innocent, may lead to this conclusion before those who have taken them are aware of it; and if the trade union method of controlling delegates is applied to Governments, it will undoubtedly be reached, however much it may be disowned.

A partial answer to this criticism is found in the complaints of some of the "left-wing" Labour members who attacked the Labour government for succumbing completely to the traditional parliamentary atmosphere and the view that the party should function after the ancient fashion. Equally suggestive was their resentment of the lack of welcome given to party members when they sought information from the new Labour ministers concerning the work of their departments. One minister, one is told, called in a permanent official when interviewed by a representative of the party headquarters (not a member of Parliament) and asked the official coolly "How much had we better tell him?" The critical comments made in the meetings of both the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party Conference in 1925, following the first Labour government, certainly gave the impression that the Labour Cabinet was less under the control of the party outside Parliament than the latter desired.

But recent events, of which the General Strike is the most dramatic, help us to clarify the situation. Paradoxically enough the most serious threat of direct action by Labour against the government was avowed by the responsible leaders of both the political and industrial wings as the use of an economic weapon in an economic dispute. It was asserted that the strike was called for the specific object of protecting the miners against a lowering of their standard of living. It is clear, also, that when it appeared that a continuance of the struggle would mean a bitter war against all the regimented resources of the government and would probably involve the use of force, the Labour leaders, accepting the suggestions of Sir Herbert Samuel, an impartial negotiator, yielded. Since that time they have asserted the unwisdom of the policy of a general strike; and their action has been upheld by a conference of the executives of the trade unions despite the bitter criticism of the miners and their allies. The movement officially has, therefore, given its repudiation of direct action; but the conflict has left wounds, both personal and political in the broadest sense, that are evidence of the existence of some opinion in favor of the further use, at a later time, of the strike weapon for political purposes. A member of the party has pointed out, however, that during the strain of the crisis of the General Strike the leaders of both the political and industrial wings of the movement carried constantly in their minds the awful cost to the masses of people of civil war in Britain. "The attempt to build up a social structure from specific functions must fail because society is not composed of a mosaic combination of functions but is itself a unity in which the functions find their purpose and utility."[21] Such an utterance as this of MacDonald is what enrages those apostles of the British revolution who were so disappointed at the ending of the General Strike.

The Communist party can scarcely be viewed in this connection as a serious threat.[22] Its membership is small, the vote it polls negligible. It is a refuge for those whose careers in the Labour movement, political or industrial, have been thwarted for personal reasons. But in two respects it has ancillary significance. The constant reiteration of certain of its dogmas—the inevitability of economic class struggle, the economic interpretation of social problems, the necessity for the use of force in overcoming the intrenched social system and for the control by the minority of aggressive leaders of the reins of power during the transition to the new order—coincident with the existence of conditions which supply a plausible if not actual support for these arguments, unquestionably influence many persons who would otherwise agree that its leaders are inept and its objectives cloudy and unrelated to the British situation. Those who are jealous of or feel mistreated or ignored by the leaders of the Labour party or the trade unions may use these arguments as a stick wherewith to beat their opponents. In the second place, where and when the existing institutions of the country do not permit a fair opportunity for the expression of the legitimate social interests of different groups, the Communist doctrines provide an alternative program, albeit one of despair. Hitherto the failure to make substantial progress in Britain has led to such bitter attacks upon the "reformist" and "religious" leaders of British labor as that of Trotsky in his *Whither England*, a book full of acute comments on the British situation. But it lies rather with the industrial statesmanship of the country whether this group will remain small in numbers and unimportant in actual influence, or will serve as a "spear-head" for revolt. At present the ties which bind the Labour movement to the governing process with its nationalizing influences are too strong for an imported philosophy to dissolve. But the philosophy might be given power and direction if the administrators of industry and of foreign policy make a series of blunders.

There is, finally, the question of local patriotism in Wales and Scotland. There are definite movements in both countries which have Home Rule measures as their objectives. It is clear, however, to the inquirer that these do not represent the passionate crusades of suppressed nationalities. Since the securing of Welsh disestablishment one of the chief causes of disaffection in that area has been removed; and one has an uneasy suspicion that the extremists among the small number of active Welsh Nationalists (in a political sense) are more concerned with the establishment of chairs of the Welsh language in the universities which they might fill, as the Gaelic enthusiasts make much of the securing of American millions for a Highland Gaelic University.[23] In Scotland, indeed, the interest in devolution is primarily centered upon the possible convenience of transacting more of the governmental business nearer at home. This would hurt the legal profession of Edinburgh, perhaps; and in any event the extent of powers given to county and borough authorities in all parts of Britain, in addition to the freedom of cultural expression left to Wales and Scotland, make unnecessary any thoroughgoing changes. There is, indeed, to the Englishman the driest of humor to be found in the demand for Home Rule from representatives of the Welsh and Scotch; the one has provided Lloyd George to British politics, while the bounds of the other in the area of political, ecclesiastical, imperial, or other powers in the British empire have yet to be fixed.

All things considered British political life has been a powerful instrument creating a community of deeper interests between social classes; a training-ground for new powers, a means of graceful yielding (on terms frequently more than honorable) for the old. Yet these institutions have had their severe strains and failures. If they may be used as a basis for surmise or prophecy, this might be hazarded. The threat of sectional dictatorship, if not the reality, may come from the extremist wing of the governing classes, who fearful of the loss of privilege and vested interest, seek to evade the "rules of the game" by using a casual majority control of Parliament to secure constitutional changes which place unfair restrictions on other classes. The natural respect paid to superior social station in British society would be jeopardized by such a betrayal of the trust which rests in the governing class; and the closing of the channels through which social interests of all groups have been able at least to seek an expression would probably lead to the use of other means. Thus through the breakdown of these usual means of social adjustment, either political or industrial, the extremist wing of the working-class would succeed to the leadership. The moderates, with their sense of responsibility to the realities rather than the rhetoric of situations, would find themselves satisfying the more aggressive and thoughtful members of the movement less and less; to secure their own positions, and to continue in any place of leadership, they, too, would move to the left. The conditions which would create the possibility, if not probability, of attempted dictatorship are, it is clear, the more likely to appear in the event of a new war; but the challenging economic situation which confronts Britain is in itself enough to require the ablest statesmanship to avoid a bitter struggle of classes.

Yet there are times when one considers the political system so fixed, so interwoven into the fabric of society, that it does not seem vulnerable. The wide extent of party agreement on matters of defense and foreign and imperial policy, despite the "window-dressing" of debate;[24] the ceremonies of the Houses and the camaraderie of the lobbies and smoking-room; the mingling of members of political society with the great and famous at Court, the club, the drawing-room, and the country house; the sense of responsibility which comes from seeing the critical position of the island kingdom with its huge population for which food must be imported and raw materials supplied and markets secured; the pressure upon the mind and spirit which the leadership of the party brings with it; these bring to all groups some sense of community and national feeling. Similarly, the elaborate network of party organizations and the varied activities enroll many lay members in party service. The ambitious may find in these movements a career; the humble, a society.

NOTES

1. Among the more familiar treatises on British politics upon which I have drawn are those of Bagehot, Lowell, Low, and Pollard. Apart from the innumerable memoirs of statesmen, I may cite the following books as particularly helpful: Ramsay MacDonald, *Parliament and Democracy;* Graham Wallas, *Our Social Heritage;* Harold Laski, *A Grammar of Politics;* J. A. Spender, *The Public Life;* and for recent developments, Sait and Barrows, *British Politics in Transition.* André Siegfried's *Post War Britain* is invaluable, and I have not attempted to go over again the ground which he covers in his discussion of contemporary politics. The handbooks of the various parties, and the reports of party conferences, usually available through the publication offices, should be consulted.

2. The statistical materials which I have used in this chapter were secured from Dod's *Parliamentary Companion,* 1925; *The Constitutional Yearbook,* 1925; *The Labour Yearbook,* 1925; *Labour and Capital in Parliament,* Labour Research Department, "Studies in Labour and Capital," Vol. III (1923), with a supplement of 1924 (from the 1923 issue the foregoing quotation is taken); *The Herald Handbook of Labour Members* (1923), and supplement of 1924.

3. Sait and Barrows, *op. cit.,* p. 167.

4. *A Constitution for the Socialist Constitution of Great Britain,* pp. 63, 110.

5. Note Lord Loreburn's *How the War Came,* Haldane's *Before the War,* the early chapters of Colonel Repington's *The First World War,* Lord Grey's *Twenty-five Years,* and Lord Oxford's *The Genesis of the War* for discussions of the relations between Parliament and the conduct of foreign relations. This problem is treated in some detail in *Parliament and War,* by F. R. Flournoy (London, 1927). In Winston Churchill's *Lord Randolph Churchill* and Gardiner's *Life of Sir William Harcourt* are accounts of struggles between the Treasury and the army and naval authorities over estimates. During the summer of 1925 a

controversy over the naval estimates between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the First Lord of the Admiralty resulted in a victory for the latter. See the *Observer,* July 26, 1926.

6. J. A. Spender, *The Public Life,* I, 146.

7. There is no full account of contemporary party organization and practices; Professor Harold Gosnell, of the University of Chicago, has one in preparation. *The Confessions of a Candidate,* by Mr. Frank Gray, is a lively and informing account of electioneering practices. The various party handbooks, and the publications of party agents contain much information of the *minutiae* of campaigning.

8. The following news item in the *Morning Post* illustrates a form of party activity. "One hundred working women from the East End will be the guests of the Marchioness of Salisbury at Hatfield House this afternoon. They are members of the Mile End Unionist Association, and will travel to Hatfield in four char-à-bancs. The Marchioness of Salisbury and her daughter, the Marchioness of Hartington, take a keen interest in Mile End, and the latter visited the Women's Club that has been started there and delivered an address."

9. J. A. Spender, *op. cit.,* p. 155.

10. Note the lament of the Conservative agent in the *Conservative Agent's Journal* for August, 1925 ("Thoughts on Propaganda," by J. W. Lancaster, of Salisbury); "The success of the Labour Party in many parts of the country has not been, as is often said, entirely owing to the rosy promises of a Utopian world to come . . . . but is largely owing to the fact that their speakers and organizers have been, and still are, of the same class; and bred in the same atmosphere as their dupes; they realise far better than the average Conservative worker or speaker the limitations of their class and the need to make their program simple in structure and object, and explainable in the simplest language." And another reports in the same issue that to the Labour leaders "the task of propagating the Socialist gospel is an absolute art. It is even more than an art. It is a fetish; it is the endeavor of a lifetime." In the *Daily Herald* of July 23, 1925, M. P. Price describes the difficulties of Labour electioneering in rural areas. The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* of October 8, 1926, in an article entitled "Gentlefolks and Others" reveals the ramifications of the Conservative influence in a Devon village. The *New Leader,* the I.L.P. weekly, contains frequent reports of the varied recreational and cultural activities of the locals. An interesting pre-war view of the Labour members by a Tory member, the late Sir Mark Sykes, is given in a letter of his recorded in his *Life* (p. 217): "The Labour members are barren, shallow rogues. Of that there can be no doubt. They funk, rant, and jib, and then fall into line like the underbred brutes they are."

11. See *The History of the Fabian Society,* by Edward Pease (2d ed.; London, 1925).

12. A study of the *Conservative Agent's Journal* will show the extensive use made by Conservative agents of the appeal to King and Empire, Church and Home, and similar patriotic abstractions. The *Times* of July 14, 1925, reporting on the by-election campaign in the Forest of Dean, noted the possible effect of an appeal from the Vicar of Hewelsfield to his parishoners in the parish magazine to oppose the Labour candidate. The article, headed "Christ or Chaos" stated that "The Labour candidate returned from Russia full of the evil doctrines of Lenin and Trotsky. He applauds what is being done in that unhappy land. He says he is out for bloodshed and revolution in Britain. Christians, England must be saved from this. We cannot have dealings with Russia and prosper." The Labour candidate was, however, returned.

13. *English Local Government: Statutory Authorities for Special Purposes,* by Beatrice and Sidney Webb (London, 1922), pp. 355, 429.

14. This book of Mr. Simon's (London, 1926) is a useful account of the workings of the city government in Manchester.

15. The *Times* on August 17, 1925, published the appeal of Mr. Stanley Machin, a prominent business man who was at that time the president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, for reduction in local taxation, an appeal seconded by the National Citizens' Union. In the issue of November 2, of that year, prominent space was given on the editorial page to an article on the local elections of that day with a leader entitled "Vote Today" which admonished the electorate for failure to vote in local elections, attacked the Labour party, and warned of an increase in the rates if the voters did not defeat the Labour candidates. The London Municipal Society, the organization which fights the London County Council elections for conservative candidates, advertises in both the *Times* and the *Morning Post* as a form of "insurance against socialism."

16. See my references to this in chapter iii. It is discussed by Graham Wallas in his *Our Social Heritage,* pp. 137, 233.

17. Sait and Barrows, *op. cit.,* p. 124, quotation from Sidebotham's *Political Profiles.*

18. Sait and Barrows, *op. cit.,* p. 140. (*Manchester Guardian Weekly,* August 13, 1920.)

19. *Our Social Heritage,* p. 105.

20. *The Public Life,* I, 164.

21. Ramsay MacDonald, *Parliament and Democracy,* p. 25. This statement of the case for evolution and parliamentarism by the leader of the Labour party should be studied in connection with the above discussion.

22. The Communist party publishes the *Workers Weekly,* numerous pamphlets, and the report of its annual congresses. The Seventh Congress report, pp. 149–52, gives a brief summary of its publications. Dr. Arthur Shadwell has published in the *Times* a series of articles descriptive of the movement (published during the summer of 1925). While he noted the fact that radicalism coincided with the areas of continued unemployment and trade depression, he gave, in my opinion, too much credit to the Communist agitators for the development of radicalism. As a matter of fact, in the report to the Seventh Congress on organization confession is made of the failure to secure increased membership for the party in such areas as the Tyneside and Clydeside. For an interesting reply to the Communist criticisms of British Labour, see Mr. Norman Angell's *Must Britain Travel the Moscow Road* (London, 1926).

23. An excellent account of modern Welsh cultural and political movements will be found in the *Welsh Outlook,* a new monthly journal. A discussion of programs for devolution is given in Sait and Bacrows, *op. cit.,* pp. 244 *et seq.* In the *Geographical Review* for December, 1916 (II, No. 6, 419), will be found an article on "Geographic Influences in British Elections" by Edward Krehbiel which is a useful study of the relations between parties and the different areas.

24. The substantial agreement of all parties in Parliament on such questions as the French invasion of the Ruhr, the relation of the policy of the United States in regard to debt payments to European affairs, the problems of Egypt and the Sudan, the admission of Germany to the League of Nations are examples of this situation. There is very little discussion in Parliament of army or naval policy when the estimates are debated.

CHAPTER VII

THE CITIZEN AND PERSONAL SERVICE OF STATE

I never had but two aims in public affairs; one, to see the King great as he may be by the Hearts of his People, without which I know not how he can be great by the Constitution of this Kingdom: The other, in case our Factions must last, yet to see a Revenue established for the constant maintaining a Fleet of fifty men of War, at Sea or in Harbour, and the Seamen in constant pay; which would be at least our Safety from abroad, and make the Crown still considered in any foreign Alliances. . . . .—SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, *Memoirs.*

If the Indian Empire, the trade of London, and all the outward and visible ensigns of our greatness should pass away, we should still leave behind us a durable monument of what we were in these sayings and doings of the English Admirals.—ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON, *Virginibus Puerisque.*

The English people learnt to use educated men on terms that preserved their independence and their self-respect. This was perhaps its chief contribution to the success or survival of Parliamentary government, for a nation with a Civil Service that represents administration, rather than this or that set of rulers, combining tradition with efficiency for this or that particular task, can turn the sharpest corner without revolution or violence.—J. L. and B. HAMMOND, *The Rise of Modern Industry.*

It has been the supreme good fortune of Great Britain that she has, during the past century, developed a Civil Service of exceptional capacity and integrity; but, like other men, the Permanent Heads of the several Government Departments desire the amenity of a quiet life and the opportunity for getting through with some measure of efficiency the immense amount of technical detail involved. The easiest way to secure this condition of smooth working is so to transact the Government business that its doings are unnoticed in Parliament, and rarely come up for Cabinet decision. It might almost be said that the supreme test of the perfect efficiency of a Government Department—in the eyes of its Permanent Head and of the Cabinet—is that it should never be mentioned either in the House of Commons or in the press. Hence it happens that the special skill in a civil servant which is most appreciated by his Parliamentary Chief and by his colleagues in the Civil Service is not initiative or statesmanship, and not even the capacity to plan and to explain the departmental projects, but either to avoid questions in the House, or, if these are asked, to furnish answers which allay without satisfying the curiosity of the enquirers.—SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB, *A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain.*

Seven weeks at sea, and twice seven days of storm
Upon the huge Atlantic, and once more
We ride into still water and the calm
Of a sweet evening, screen'd by either shore
Of Spain and Barbary. Our toils are o'er,
Our exile is accomplished. Once again
We look on Europe, mistress as of yore
Of the fair earth and of the hearts of men.
    Ay, this is the famed rock which Hercules
And Goth and Moor bequeath'd us. At this door
England stands sentry. God! to hear the shrill
Sweet treble of her fifes upon the breeze,
And at the summons of the rock gun's roar
To see her red coats marching from the hill!—WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT, *Gibraltar.*

He was fifteen and bound for the sea: and when we came in sight of it he pushed past our knees to the carriage window and broke into a high tuneless chant, all oblivious of us. Challenge was in it and a sob of desire at the sight of his predestined mistress and adversary. For the sea is great, but the heart in any given boy may be greater: and these things are life.

And life, some think, is worthy of the Muse.—SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH, *Charles Dickens and Other Victorians.*

"Our Civil Service is very good; it is the best in the world," Lord Haldane has declared.[1] "The potentialities of the Empire as the greatest influence for spreading wide the principles of true freedom and, by example, leading the vanguard of ordered progress throughout the world, powerfully appealed to my imagination," remarks Lord Sydenham in his *My Working Life.* "To serve, strengthen, consolidate, and perhaps in future even to help in guiding the Empire seemed to be the objects most worth living for, and I quickly came to regard the Navy not only as a 'sure shield' but the essential binding force which like steel in reinforced concrete could alone hold the Imperial structure together." Wilfrid Blunt, however absorbed in the cause of Egyptian nationalism, exclaims at the sight of the red coats at Gibraltar—"rock which Hercules and Goth and Moor bequeath'd us." The lawyer feels his touch with the centuries of his profession, is proud of the tradition of the Courts, and of the peaceful penetration of vast areas of the empire by decisions of the English judges.

Such attitudes are not negligible. The quality of public administration affects profoundly the sentiment of the citizen. A competent and impartial state service—judicial, civil, or armed—does not merely strengthen the government and insure peaceful and orderly procedures in the settlement of social and individual conflicts. It may encourage the extension of state services. It may offer to ambitious and capable persons a career of social distinction and political prestige. It may thus reinforce the attachment of influential classes to the state, and to national political life.

This, at least, has been true of Britain. Approximately 350,000 citizens find employment in the civil services, about the same number are enrolled in the military and naval services; while the Territorials, and the Training Corps of the schools and colleges, add perhaps 150,000 more.[2] From what classes do the leaders in these services come? What is their status in British society? What relation do they have to important social groups in the community?

We may say at once that broadly speaking, the officer classes of the army and navy, the judiciary, the higher civil service, come from the governing class which has dominated, as we have seen, the political life of the country in the past. Educational preparation and cost of legal training has perforce limited the number of those who could aspire to the higher posts of the legal profession. In Scotland this has not been so true; for in Scotland a more democratic educational system, and a strong tradition of learning among the humblest classes have combined to permit poor boys to rise through the local school and the university to the highest places in the law. In England one is more apt to find recruits from families associated through earlier generations with the profession and even the Bench. But whether in the halls at Edinburgh or the Inns of Court at London, the student of the law soon finds the subtle influences of place and historical association shaping his attitude of reverence and of respect for precedent and long-accepted standards.

> The barristers have, in fact, a rigidly aristocratic organization. They all belong to one or other of the four Inns of Court. . . . . Hav-

> ing almost uncontrolled power to admit or expel members of the Inns, the Benchers hold the keys to the profession; although, in fact, they very rarely refuse admission to anyone who eats the dinners and passes the moderate examination required. An organization of this kind, of which, by the way, the judges continue to be members, gives to the bar a great solidarity and capacity to maintain its traditions. . . . . Law has played in many ways an unusually prominent part throughout the course of English history. First among the modern states of Europe to emerge from the confusion of the early middle ages, England solidified as a nation during the period when a legal tone of thought was dominant. . . . . The relation of law and lawyers to politics is closely connected with a principle of English jurisprudence that is interwoven with the whole political fabric.[3]

A historian of the Inns of Court reinforces this comment of President Lowell's. He remarks:

> The Inns of Court discharge important functions in the spheres of education and discipline. But it would be a mistake to suppose that they have no wider vision. Like the Universities, they are the heirs of a splendid tradition, which tends to elevate the minds and to stimulate the ambitions of their members. Like the Universities they kindle within their walls that kind of *esprit de corps,* of which patriotism and public spirit are larger expansions. The Inns of Court are alive to the responsibilities which are cast upon them as the keepers of the keys, and the guardians of the honour, of the English Bar. It is their common aim to serve their countrymen by rendering their profession a polished and efficient instrument for the ascertainment of the truth and for the holding of the scales of Justice evenly between citizen and citizen.[4]

Nevertheless, we must not overlook the possibilities for the development of sectional and class outlook among this corporate group and in the judiciary, not only because of the political aspects of certain high legal posts (those, for example, of Lord Chancellor and of Solicitor General), but also because recent industrial conflicts, the effort to suppress certain types of Communist agitation, and the adoption of the new Trade Union Act have brought the courts directly into the arena of contemporary issues calculated to engender bitterness. The rich heritage of widespread popular confidence in the higher courts, bulwarked in the past by the respect paid to superior social station from which the judiciary has been recruited, may be dissipated in the winds of class struggle. This is the more threatening since the legal profession has been less invaded by persons from the working classes than has parliamentary life.

If the mass of citizens of the modern state find some abstract symbol of the corporate life of the state in its flag, the more exciting and dramatic representation of its strength and existence is to be found in the armed services with a personal commander—king or general or admiral—at the head.[5] For centuries Britain has been dependent upon her navy in war time; while her army (as well as her trade and finance) has enabled her to participate in Continental struggles and to hold and extend her overseas empire. Both the armed services have been peculiarly associated with royalty; members of the royal family hold honorary posts in the army and navy, the princes spend a period of training in one of the services, the King reviews the troops or ships, the Queen may present colors. The officers have come of families of higher social station; the heroes of military or naval warfare are commemorated in public monuments or cathedral or parish church memorials; museums record the history of the services; military tattoos and naval reviews attract throngs of people; and the most popular boys' books are those which contain stories of British military and naval life. It is only within the past two generations, however, that through the efforts of early reformers—Herbert and Cardwell, for example—that the army officer class has been recruited through competitive selection. It had been closed to only those who could afford to purchase commissions; with the abolition of this practice, the better development of the training schools, and the evolution of more effective staff work, improvement in the quality of administration came. Under Lord Haldane further reforms were instituted; while the World War has brought more pressure upon the service for better administration and less class-restricted recruiting of officers. The naval officer class had not suffered from the system of purchase of commissions, partly, perhaps, because as the first line of defense more frequently engaged and because of the more severe technical requirements, inadequacies of personnel were the more quickly recognized as a national danger. The normal procedure now for those ambitious for a career in the services is to prepare for the examinations for the service training-schools at a preparatory school and public school, where special classes are often provided. Certain schools—the Imperial Services College (whose life in the old days is described in *Stalky and Company*) Wellington, Marlborough, and others—send an unusually high proportion of boys into the service training-schools. Naturally the expenses of preliminary education are in themselves selective; while the costs of living in the officer class prevent most persons of limited resources from following such careers.

One will not find the most powerful influences that make for patriotic feeling concerning the armed services in formal organizations. Much comes from the association of certain families—frequently of the old landed aristocracy—with the army or navy. One recalls, in Kipling's *Stalky and Company*, in the episode entitled "The Flag of Their Country," how, at school, "the last census showed that eighty per cent of the boys had been born abroad—in camp, cantonment, or upon the high seas; or that seventy-five per cent were sons of officers in one or other of the services—Willoughbys, Paulets, De Castros, Maynes, Randalls, after their kind—looking to follow their fathers' profession." The memorials and traditions of the great schools often center about some distinguished soldier or sailor, or the members of the school who have given their lives for their country in Asia, Africa, or Europe. The very sports of the countryside have sometimes descended from an earlier training for war—hunting and the breeding and racing of horses. It is the sea, however, which to many is the place of greatest achievement and lure. Rodney, Drake, Nelson, are heroes of many boys' tales; and as the military displays, the changing of guards, presentation of colors, tattoos, and similar military pageants give a dramatic spectacle of the army to many communities, so the great ships at the seaports with their coming from and going to the far corners of the globe or the naval reviews thrill those who live near the coast or visit the naval centers. For one class a career in the services is available; and the ties of the school are renewed in the mess. As Sir Henry Newbolt writes:

> The sand of the desert is sodden red,—
>   Red with the wreck of a square that broke;—
> The Gatling's jammed and the Colonel dead,
>   And the regiment blind with dust and smoke.
> The river of death has brimmed his banks,
>   And England's far, and Honour a name,
> But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks:
>   "Play up! play up! and play the game!"

As the officer comes back from the various posts of the empire, or from sea duty, to mingle again with society at home, his London club, the London drawing-room, or the country house become the centers in which he meets once more relatives and friends of school days or perhaps of the university who are now in Parliament, the Diplomatic or Colonial or Indian Service, the Civil Service, or like himself in the army or navy. His views and attitudes come to influence theirs, or to be in turn influenced by them. A sense of community with them because of family, class, and professional connections strengthens these attitudes and opinions. From the *Times* or *Morning Post* he gets daily information of the far places of the empire in which important things are happening, or of the events in other states which will affect his own. The tradition of his Service and the contemporary associations of a personal nature combine to give him a national consciousness.

The most important citizen organization which seeks to stimulate interest in and support for the armed services is the Navy League.[6] It describes itself, in its pamphlet material, as

> a voluntary, patriotic, and strictly non-party Association of British Peoples, which, recognizing the paramount importance of an adequate Navy as the best guarantee of Peace, has, since 1895, stood and still stands as a sentinel to keep watch, with the object of resisting all attempts to reduce our Navy below the limits of National and Imperial safety.

Its aims and objects as further stated are

> to maintain the safety and security of the Empire on the basis of Sea Power, to urge on the Government of the day the importance of continuous Naval preparation . . . ., to emphasize the necessity for the protection of the Ocean Trade Routes . . . ., to secure the provision of an adequate Aerial Arm . . . ., to call attention to the fact that the presence of the Navy upholds British prestige throughout the world and thereby fosters commercial relations, "Trade follows the Flag," to bring home to young and old alike the part played by the Sea Service in the foundation and preservation of the Empire, and to encourage a fuller appreciation of the importance of close co-operation between all kindred British Peoples.

It possesses branches in various parts of the empire; and its membership has raised relief funds for the dependents of men in the naval services who lost their lives during the war. It also maintains training ships and "Sea Cadets Corps" for the sea training of boys, over 21,000 having been trained in the British Isles since the inception of the scheme. It is an agency for distribution of literature, lectures, films, and other means of furthering public interest in the navy.[7] It publishes a monthly magazine, the *Navy,* and a

Quarterly of reprints. Its boards—the executive committee and the ladies' committee—contain the names of many persons of prominence in the Conservative party. Its attitude is perhaps voiced in a general way in the columns of the *Morning Post* so far as naval policy is concerned, and it serves as a central organization for the defense of a strong naval policy outside the official channels of the Admiralty.

The greatest civilian organization on the army side is the British Legion.[8] This organization, however, carefully avoids any entrance into political questions other than that of the care of the veterans of the World War. It has attempted to deal with problems of the disabled, of unemployment, of training of men, of financing of veterans in new enterprises in which they can earn a living, of preference for veterans in the civil service. It has raised, and raises annually, considerable funds for relief. Apparently it has been able to keep free from party conflicts. The general atmosphere of British Legion discussion is favorable toward the peaceful development of international relations and the League of Nations. It is also affiliated with the British Empire Service League, which is a federation and clearing-house of such societies throughout the empire. Through its association with "Fidac" (Federation Interalliée des Anciens Combattants) it has supported League activities. The long service of the British in the war, and the losses and suffering sustained, served to exercise a sober restraint upon the more flamboyant expressions of nationalism and hatreds which the earlier period of the war propaganda generated in all countries. One is struck greatly by the feeling that the men who had participated for any length of time had become one of the most determined groups in opposition to another war, and in sincerely desiring the maintenance of peace among nations.

But the most important centers of influence of the services upon political life are undoubtedly the clubs in London, and the London "society" in which the officer class naturally mingles.[9] This is illustrated by the affiliation between the Conservative party and that class. During the Ulster crisis, indeed, it was by no means certain that even high officers in the army would obey the orders of the government in putting down an Ulster rebellion. The Labour party is almost entirely cut off from this group; for while there are some who are of the older governing class, there is no considerable personal relationship that ties the great majority of Labour leaders to the army or navy. There is, indeed, in the party generally much suspicion of these services as potential strike-breakers or as instruments in the hands of a reactionary government in the event of a serious industrial dispute. Their use in this way is called for by many persons fearful of the Labour movement and of "revolution." Furthermore, the general policy of the Labour party in international relations, including, as it does, a theoretical support of general disarmament, naturally does not endear them to the officer class. It must be admitted, on the other hand, that during Labour's brief period in office it did not move toward any weakening of the forces; and with the inexperience of the party generally and its need for more general electoral support among moderates, it is probable that the armed services will not be interfered with. Nor are the rank and file of the services anything but a slice from the working-class. Recruitment is greatly affected by unemployment; and men who may at some time be employed in industry, may later be serving with the colors, without thereby of necessity breaking ties with old friends in the "local." The undoubted determination in the labor movement for working for peaceful international relations does not, therefore, necessarily result in the abandonment by the party of the Services, despite their general isolation from the social circles and family ties of the officer groups. It has closer ties, however, with the Civil Service.

Mr. Stanley Baldwin said to a group of university students:

> There are many kinds of service for which you can offer yourself; for those who have fitted themselves for it, if there is no immediate call for you into professions at home, think how the Empire needs you today to make the rough places smooth in all the corners of the world, to train and educate people lower than we are in the scale of civilization, to go out to the great Dominions and help them in the problems set before them. And, apart from all those, what a field there is today for the best men that we can send to India, for this reason—for this and the next generation, the most difficult work in the Empire must necessarily be in that great country, work demanding sympathy, knowledge, courage, and intelligence of the highest order.[10]

The present civil-service system has its origins in the middle of the last century, when Macauley and Trevelyan set forth the principles which have guided its development.[11] These principles were first applied in any comprehensive way by Mr. Gladstone in the seventies; appraised by successive Royal Commissions and readapted to new conditions, they have tied the services to the educational system. In essence, they divided the general administrative offices into an upper and lower division; provided for permanency of tenure, and pension upon retirement; moderate rates of pay, with increments for length of satisfactory service; allowed promotion within the division, and in the upper division enabled the able and ambitious to secure the positions of permanent secretaries of departments; and, most important of all, placed educational and age qualifications upon admission to the service. The educational qualifications were—and are—measured by competitive examinations, based, broadly, for the upper division upon the range of subjects and instruction given in the honors courses at Oxford and Cambridge universities, and in the lower division upon the work required in the secondary schools. The age qualifications were so arranged that admission to the service was practically confined to persons recently completing, or just completing, their university or school careers. An essential feature of the examination scheme is that it is not based upon special studies or a technical preparation, but upon what may be called a general liberal course of study. In this way students do not have to undergo the risk of narrowing the university course with a possible failure to secure appointment, or of a possible change of plans as to a career causing a wastage of much of their education. Macauley, Jowett, and Mill were particularly emphatic on this point; for, they argued, in any society the course of higher education which attracts the best minds of the country should be the course from which the civil service should be selected; and an examination based upon that course of study, whether it is Greek or Choctaw, will reveal the ablest persons available for appointment.

With the adoption and intrenchment of this system the civil service has supplied a career of adequate pay, hours and retirement provisions as well as of social prestige, to which a steady stream of able university men have turned. It is highly respectable; it provides tasks which the university man can "get up" without too great difficulty; it promises a life in London, where one can continue the friendships of college days and participate in varied activities in the leisure permitted to the civil servant; or, if the post is in the outer empire, gives a more generous allowance of salary and leave, offers the satisfaction of sharing in the imperial tradition, and makes one a little power in the undeveloped or subject region.[12]

If an able young man has a great ambition to possess influence and power in the life of the state, but cannot afford to enter party politics, the permanent civil service offers him an opportunity. He may, finally, be granted state honors for his services, even an elevation to the peerage.

The civil service has changed greatly from the time of the Circumlocution office of *Little Dorrit* or Trollope's *Three Clerks*, as has the Indian Service from the days of the old Haileybury College. Until the war, some of the best men in the colleges looked to it as a possible career. Since the war there have been some important developments. A Whitley Council, composed equally of representatives of the rank and file and of the higher controlling officials has been instituted, and in many departments there are departmental councils. As a result of the investigations and recommendations of the national council the service has been reorganized into the four main classes of Writing Assistants, Clerical Class, Executive Class, and the Administrative Class, the latter being the highest and recruited from university men between twenty-two and twenty-four years of age. The examinations are still based largely upon the work done in honors courses in the university, a considerable range in the choice of subject being allowed from among the languages, philosophy, history, politics, economics, law, and science. Active recruitment has been resumed. Fears that the Indian Service would no longer attract able men because of the increasing indianization of the service have been allayed with the competing of a considerable number of able young Englishmen.

The status of women is still a disputed point, since there is not equality of payment except at entrance into a class, married women are ineligible for appointment and women in the service who marry must resign their positions.[13] This situation is one which naturally particularly interests women's organizations.

There is much dissatisfaction among the lower grades in the service over inequalities of payment among departments for those performing similar duties. Again, the whole service has been resentful at the development of newspaper criticism of civil-service expenditures. This reached a head at the great mass-meeting in Albert Hall in the fall of 1925 when thousands of civil servants packed the building to listen to addresses by the leaders speaking in defense of the service and setting forth the counter grievances of the employees who feel aggrieved at the by-products of business men's "economy" campaigns.[14] A somewhat similar trend is to be noticed in the increasing organization of civil servants into various societies and trade unions, many of which were formerly affiliated with the Trades Union Congress; the development of the Institute of Public Administration, a professional organization devoted to the study and interests of the public services; the demands of lower grades of the services for the opening up of careers in the higher grades to experienced civil servants; and the dissatisfaction with the limitations upon political activity which have been placed upon civil servants.

Unquestionably an essential point in the British Civil Service System has been the requirement that recruitment for the higher posts should be confined to age and education limits. The permanent undersecretaries and high officials are, therefore, men of long experience in the service who were first equipped with a thorough general liberal education, who could "get up" new subjects quickly and well, and who for the most part have come from the upper-middle classes or the aristocracy. Sir Robert Morant, Lord Welby, Lord Milner, Sir John Anderson, Montagu Harris, and Lord Cromer are illustrations in different fields of this. Similarly one finds military and naval families, or traditional connections of these great services with families through at least one representative in a generation. This system, while held up by the war inflation of the services for a time, is apparently resuming its normal place in British society and life. At the apex is the position of power as permanent chief official of the department, since the political head is dependent upon his permanent secretaries. At the apex, too, is honorable and influential position in London professional and club life; the acquisition of civic honors; and occasionally a peerage for particularly distinguished service.

In view of the great importance of the staff of the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service a special comment is warranted. They are recruited by a process of special selection through the department itself and the Civil Service Commission. While there has been an increase in the pay in these services, the entertainment and living costs generally, while on service abroad, make it all but essential for the applicant to possess independent means, and actually the service is manned by those who come from families of wealth and position almost without exception. They are generally graduates of the public schools and the universities. While there have been attacks on this staff from Labour party members, it seems generally agreed that the members of the service possess both integrity and ability. It remains true, however, that their outlook is necessarily that of a class, and they mingle with a corresponding class while abroad.[15] There are some efforts at present to modify their period of training in the Foreign Office by other intellectual stimulation such as classes at the London School of Economics similar in purpose to those established for army officers in training for administrative staff work. It is possible that as the League of Nations develops, the contacts of diplomats there will serve to widen their outlooks and interests; but at present it remains true that it is extremely difficult for a person reared in the traditions of family, class, school, and college and trained in a department in which precedent is strong to get outside himself and objectify the new problems as they arise.

The system by which the youth of the governing class are recruited into the service of the state, and the power which this brings to the national political life, is not easily challenged. The army and navy are honored for their part in winning the World War; the judiciary are viewed as competent and uncorruptible; the civil service, despite the criticism of "bureaucracy," a certain sedentary quality, and its lack of contact in foreign lands within or without the empire with the culture of other peoples, continues to be the goal of many school and university students. It is an important question, indeed, not much explored in Britain, whether a high price has not been paid for a draining of so much ability into these regulative and administrative services to the exclusion of careers in commerce, industry, and finance. But a more important query must conclude this discussion. We are seeing the invasion of the old governing class of country and town houses, of clubdom, of the universities and the City and the Church, by a new power, recruited from the trade union, the co-operative society, the adult school. The older governing class has long since passed through the period in which it prostituted political and administrative positions for personal and patronage purposes, although the use of "honors" often degenerates into a spoils system, and the civil service is not entirely free of some abuses of this kind.[16] Will the new rulers, too, have to pass through such a period, or will their relations with the system as it now is educate them to the importance of a highly trained personnel, free from party interference? And will, too, the existing qualities of the civil-service system permit a fuller development in the direction of more scientific research, and a wider area of selection than the older universities? Graham Wallas[17] warns:

> It too often happens that the Labour members who secure election on our municipal bodies show less rather than more appreciation than do the members of the older parties of the essential conditions of administrative efficiency. . . . . A Labour candidate who has, perhaps, for years been toiling almost hopelessly at open-air propaganda, may feel, when an electoral victory comes in sight, that he would be a traitor to his cause if he thought of anything beyond the contest. When victory is achieved . . . . he may fail to realize that if he is to help in the provision of decent human conditions for the million inhabitants of a great industrial city, he must understand that the elected councillors should be content to direct the general policy of a body of officials, chosen, in a spirit of scientific impartiality, because they are possessed of an unusual kind of ability, and have received an unusual and difficult kind of training. . . . . He must ask himself whether the strict caucus discipline which is traditional in his party is likely to permit of intellectual elasticity among its members sufficient to secure success for a large administrative policy. . . . . A month ago, in discussion with an important member of the Labour Party, I spoke of my fear lest the inevitable transference of power from the middle to the working-classes in our English cities might be so directed as to be disastrous in some cases to administrative efficiency, and he said that he shared my fear, but that his party must learn from its own mistakes. It is no light thing to contemplate mistakes which may lead to the bankruptcy of great cities or to the breakdown of essential social services, and our conversation left me with a passionate desire that the coming Labour councillors may learn, not only from their own mistakes, but also from the experience of the past, and the foresight which judges rightly of the future.

Some experiences in local areas in which Labour has secured power give a foreboding footnote to this warning, for in the distribution of relief and the administration of public services as well as in the quality of personnel selected to represent the new Labour power it appeared that Labour, in its turn, would reward itself for having arrived. What seems more serious, however, is that a high seriousness and standard of personal uprightness in the use of political power may be accompanied by a failure to respect the need for a scientific and engineering approach to social questions, and that ethical fervor and moral criteria may be made to serve as tools for attacking complicated problems. Here again we see the challenge that is reflected in other political situations in Britain. Can the process of assimilation of this new power be accomplished in an environment of sympathy on the part of the older orders; or will the latter so seek to entrench themselves that feelings will be exacerbated, and the whole system threatened before it can have utilized its subtle and insinuating influences?

NOTES

1. *Journal of Public Administration*, II, No. 1 (January, 1924), p. 20.

2. Figures from the *Statesman's Yearbook* and the *Europa Yearbook* (1926). "There is a gulf fixed between the Army and the Civil Service, the respective homes of good form and of learning. It came as a surprise to me years ago when I discovered the contempt which was poured upon distinguished scholars in the Civil Service by military men" (R. N. Bradley, *Racial Origins of English Character*, p. 37).

3. Lowell, *The Government of England*, II, 469, 471, 473.

4. D. P. Barton, *The Story of the Inns of Court* (London), p. 27. See also the chapter on "Professionalism" in *Our Social Heritage* by Graham Wallas.

5. The *Public Schools Yearbook* contains descriptions of the army classes conducted at various schools, and of the Officers' Training Corps. See also the chapter on "Professionalism" cited in note 4, especially pp. 135 *et seq.* Colonel Repington's diaries (*The First World War* especially) reveal the connections between the officer class and "society." Lord Haldane in his testimony before the Royal Commission on the Coal Mines (see evidence, question 25,595) remarked: "I remember when I was at the War Office I published a ukase that not only were no ladies to make applications for the promotion of their friends, but if any applications for the promotion of an officer were made in his behalf by a lady, he must clear himself of the presumption that in some way he had inspired it. But it was not much good."

6. See the publications of the Navy League (13 Victoria St., S.W. 1).

7. The *Navy* for August, 1925, p. 212, contains a brief note on the Navy League Educational Campaign by its President, the Marquess of Linlithgow.

8. Information secured from publications and reports of the British Legion, 26 Eccleston Square, S.W. 1, and personal interviews.

9. See an article entitled "The Citizen Army" in the *Times* for August 12, 1925, for a discussion of the present-day Territorials. On December 8, 1925, an article entitled "Modern Recruits" dealt with the recruiting situation in the Regular Army, emphasizing the improved personnel and living conditions. A leader of August 12, also enlarged upon the obligations of the citizen for service in the Territorials, while in the *London Observer* a letter of August 25, from a captain of the Fifth Sherwood Foresters analyzed the difficulty in securing more men for the Territorials. A letter to the *Times* of July 20, discusses the state of the navy somewhat despondently, concluding "In fact, the politicians for their own purposes have been trying to obscure the truth expressed by Segur, 'Peace is the dream of the wise. War is the history of Man.' The British Empire is a League of Peace depending for its existence on the Royal Navy, which is also the only safeguard of Western civilization. That safeguard is now in danger. The hand is writing on the wall." This is anticipatory of a recent comment of the *Morning Post*, quoted in the *Living Age*, October 1, 1926. "The British Navy is a necessity which, at what cost soever, must be maintained up to a certain strength; whereas the United States Navy may perhaps be regarded in part as a work of supererogation, and in that sense as a gallant form of luxury, to which America is justly entitled, because she can afford luxury."

10. Published in *On England.*

11. There is a historical account of the British Civil Service in Robert Moses, *The British Civil Service,* "Columbia University Series in History, Economics and Public Law," with official documents quoted in the bibliography. The *Reports and Evidence of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service,* of 1912–14 are full of important data, as are the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Service in India,* 1924, and the *Reports of the Whitley Council in the Civil Service* (Civil Service National Whitley Council), especially that of 1920. W. A. Robson's Fabian pamphlet entitled "From Patronage to Proficiency" is a convenient brief discussion of the question, while current papers of value appear in the *Journal of Public Administration,* published by the Institute of Public Administration. Useful character sketches of prominent civil servants will be found in *Contemporary Portraits,* by Sir Algernon West. A satirical study of the war conditions is *The Old Indispensables,* by Edward Shanks. See also Arnold Bennett's *Mr. Prohack* and *Lord Raingo.*

12. See *The Story of My Life,* by Sir Harry Johnston; *The Further Side of Silence,* by Sir Hugh Clifford; *The Little World of an Indian District Officer,* by R. Carstairs; *The Making of an Administrator,* letters of J. S. Mann; *A Passage to India,* by E. M. Forster; *Kim,* by Rudyard Kipling, for glimpses of imperial services.

13. In her memoir entitled *Recollected in Tranquility,* by Janet E. Courtney (London, 1926), a critical view of the civil service is given with an account of the development of a career for women in it. Miss Rose Squire's *Thirty Years of the Public Service* (London, 1927) is full of information on the latter point. Illustrative of the way in which recognition is extended by royalty is the letter sent by the Queen to be read at a dinner given to Miss Squire upon her retirement. She had also received from the King the decoration of Officer of the Order of the British Empire for war services. The letter follows:

"The Queen has been informed of the retirement of Miss Rose E. Squire from her post at the Home Office after thirty years' service. Her Majesty congratulates Miss Squire on her distinguished official career, and has heard with interest the useful work done. The Queen realizes that Miss Squire started her public work at a time when few women were in the field, and considers that her record of faithful and devoted service is worthy of the best traditions of the Civil Service and should prove an inspiring example to those who follow after. Her Majesty is glad to hear that Miss Squire is being honoured tonight by her colleagues and friends, and wishes to be associated with the good wishes which are being offered to Miss Squire on her retirement."

14. During July, 1925, the *Morning Post* ran several stories and leaders on "the high cost of the civil service," "where money can be saved" and similar attacks upon the civil service. The Albert Hall meeting was attended by over 12,000 civil servants according to the press.

15. The publications of the Union for Democratic Control, especially its monthly, "Foreign Affairs," are full of information on this question. See also *Diplomacy, Old and New,* by a former member of the service, George Young, and *Democracy and Diplomacy,* by Arthur Ponsonby, another ex-diplomat and Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Labour Cabinet of 1924. The 1912 Royal Commission reports, cited in note 11 are valuable for their evidence on this. *The Foreign Office Yearbook* gives biographical data on many members of the service, and memoirs of Wilfrid Blunt, Lord Redesdale, Colonel Repington, Sir Almeric Fitzroy, and Sir George Buchanan should be consulted for the atmosphere of the service. Mr. Beckles Willson, historian of *The Paris Embassy,* remarked recently in the *London Observer* that "In His Excellency the Marquess of Crewe . . . . we have had for these five years past a stately and distinguished

figure. [At the Paris Embassy.] He has wealth, lineage, high rank, culture, and a varied official experience extending over forty years. What more could the most exigeant English demand for his country's representative?" The statement of the editor of the socialist *New Leader* of November 14, 1924, in reply to an attack from George Young upon the Foreign Office permanent officials because of the "Zinovieff letter" incident should be noted, however. "There is not, to our thinking, one scrap of evidence which justifies a charge or even a suspicion of disloyalty against the officials of the Foreign Office. They have served Mr. MacDonald with zeal, and, as we happen to know, with admiration." This defense, be it noted, comes from a "left wing intellectual." But see also the *Manchester Guardian Weekly,* March 9, 1928, on "The Zinovieff Letter" with its demand for a fuller inquiry.

16. There is a discussion of Patronage in Lord Oxford's *Fifty Years of British Parliament,* II, chaps. xxxiii–xxxv.

17. Preface to *A City Council from Within,* E. D. Simon (London, 1926), pp. xiv *et seq.* The debates in the House of Commons upon the clauses of the new Trade Union Act which prevent the affiliation of civil servants with the outside trades unions (especially those of Tuesday, May 31, 1927) are full of suggestion and information for this topic.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

I had better let the cat out of the bag at once and record my opinion that the character of the English is essentially middle-class. . . . . Just as the heart of England is the middle classes, so the heart of the middle classes is the public-school system.—E. M. FORSTER, *Notes on English Character.*

It is impossible for any writer who is not inspired, and difficult even for him, to convey by words to those who do not know it the inner spirit of Winchester as Lionel and I felt it. A love for every stone, a reverence for its traditions, a feeling of building into oneself . . . . Meads, School, Hills, and the whole school life—these are all rather the externals and trappings. The inner feeling is a passionate devotion of service as of Dante for Beatrice, as of Sir Galahad for the Holy Grail, as of an Englishman for his fair England, with a sense of peace, of security beyond expression, of a spiritual home and membership of a great family stretching back five centuries.—EARL RUSSELL, *My Life and Adventures.*

Journalism and militarism are novel and impressive agencies of popular propaganda, but an agency quite as novel and even more impressive is the new formal education, that is, the rising system of state directed and state-controlled compulsory national schooling. . . . . Mere literacy, however, does not make humans humane or critical or even intelligent; and in literate nationalities, the majority of boys and girls, who do not pass beyond the earlier grades of elementary schooling, acquire only sufficient mastery of the art of reading to render them the gullible victims of penny dreadfuls, graphics, newspaper headlines, advertising posters, movie captions, and in general the cheaper sort of journalism that is apt to reek with nationalism. The minority of boys and girls, who graduate from secondary schools, should be qualified to read more and better things, but inasmuch as they have been exposed for a longer time to the nationalist influence of the schools, their minds are likely to be set and grooved more conveniently for a lifelong antipathy to any development which might weaken nationalism.—CARLETON J. H. HAYES, *Essays on Nationalism.*

That children should know something about the hygiene of food and drink, something about the history of their own country, something about the existence of other countries and of their titles to respect as having contributed to the sum of civilization, that they should not be wholly ignorant of the kind of polity in which they live and that they should be given, if possible, an admiration for the literature of their country and for the great men who have brought it to its present point of greatness—all this will be generally admitted. What, however, most true educationists would dispute is the contention that children should be educated in any school of political and economic opinion. . . . . We prefer freedom to regimentation, and a good broad general education to a sectarian discipline in one or other school of political opinion. We have sufficient faith in the political instincts of our race and in the stability of our institutions to leave to chance much that in other races, less easily circumstanced, is made a matter of serious discipline.—HERBERT A. L. FISCHER, *The Common Weal.*

Beyond the book his teaching sped,
He left on whom he taught the trace
Of kinship with the deathless dead,
And faith in all the Island Race.
He passes: his life a tangle seemed,
His age from fame and power was far;
But his heart was high in the end, and dreamed
Of the sound and splendour of England's war.
—SIR HENRY NEWBOLT, *Ionicus.*

["Ionicus" was the name given by friends to William Cory, a Master at Eton; the verse quoted is found in a biographical volume entitled *Ionicus,* by Viscount Esher, a pupil of his at Eton, who dedicates the book "to three statesmen who have held the office of Prime Minister: to the Earl of Rosebery, K.G., and the Earl of Balfour, K.G., who at Eton learnt the elements of high politics from Ionicus and to the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith who showed him kindness in his old age."]

An inquirer into British institutions is often led to inquire whether there is any school system at all. He finds schools innumerable, ancient and modern, public schools that are privately controlled, grammar schools, preparatory schools, schools that have evolved from the educational appendages of the various sects, schools controlled and supported by the state. There is one system for England and Wales, another for Scotland. One is reminded, in a way, of the tangle of railway tracks north of the station at Newcastle-on-Tyne; some curve off to seek the West Coast, some continue straight on to follow the East Coast, others, again wander off to warehouses and docks; and rearing its stark and rugged form in the midst of this conscious and studied disorder is the huge stone tower of a medieval castle, dominating the neighborhood. So the public schools, rooted in the Middle Ages, originating in the foundations of royalty, nobility, and churches still dominate in the shaping of the national attitudes of the youth of the governing class. Yet the educational institutions which have developed in the past century as well as the older public and grammar schools require study. All illustrate, in their turn, the nature of British civic life; rich in voluntary associations, bearing upon them the stamp of the corporate life from which they have developed, and integrated, through successive bits of legislation, administration, and voluntary adjustments, to one another and to the national life.[1]

It would be easy to become lost in this tangle. Let us, therefore, seek the answer to a few more pertinent questions. What is the "system"—that is, what groups have been and are being affected by the different kinds of schools, and where does the control of these schools reside? What teaching affects directly the formation of national attitudes, the creation of "a sense of state?" What factors other than teaching do this? What challenges or tendencies now confront the system?

In 1861, a commission entitled the Public Schools Inquiry Commission reported upon the public schools. These schools, founded in past centuries for the education of poor boys, had become primarily centers for the education of the sons of the governing class and of those persons of means who aspired to have their sons enter that class. The Commission in its report stated:[2]

> Among the services which they have rendered is undoubtedly to be reckoned the maintenance of classical literature as the staple of English education, a service which far outweighs the error of having clung to these studies too exclusively. A second, and a greater still, is the creation of a system of government and discipline for boys, the excellence of which has been universally recognized and which is admitted to have been most important in its effects on national character and social life. It is not easy to estimate the degree in which the English people are indebted to these schools for the qualities on which they pique themselves most—for their capacity to govern others and control themselves, for aptitude for combining freedom with order, their public spirit, their vigor and manliness of character, their strong, but not slavish respect for public opinion, their love of healthy sports and exercise. These schools have been the chief nurseries of our statesmen; in them, and in schools modeled after them, men of all the various classes that make up

English society, destined for every profession and every career, have been brought up on a footing of social equality and have contracted the most enduring friendships and some of the ruling habits of their lives. And they have had perhaps the largest share in moulding the character of an English gentleman.

By "English society" was meant the fraction of the population which dominated politics, the law, the church, the professions, the army, the navy, and the civil service; while increasingly the sons of business and industrial men secured the same schooling. These historic schools (with modern schools modeled after them) include both boarding schools—Eton, Harrow, Winchester are perhaps most famous—and day schools which are the descendants of the old grammar schools founded in various cities and towns, of which St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors' in London, and the Manchester Grammar School of Manchester are perhaps typical.[3] In the last century a few schools of the public-school type have been established in Scotland also, although many sons of the wealthy Scotch families go to the English public schools, as do the Irish. These schools are financed by income from endowments and from the fees paid by parents; their teaching staffs are drawn from the older universities, usually from among the honors graduates; their buildings and equipment are generally not only physically adequate but also reminiscent of the history of the institution; their policy is controlled by the governing boards, the masters, the necessity of preparing their students for the universities (or to a less degree the army or navy training-school examinations), the programs of the organization of the headmasters, and the general limits fixed by the ideas prevailing in the classes which they serve. While the state has intervened in the past through investigatory commissions, these schools are very little interfered with by the departments of government in any way affecting educational policy.

Below these schools, but recruiting from much the same social classes and preparing their students for public school careers are a number of private preparatory schools for younger boys. These also are self-governing in the sense that they are free from state control. Their standards and objectives are generally set by the public schools because of their relations to them.

The state did not intervene directly in the field of public education until 1870. Early in the nineteenth century, it is true, individuals interested in the education of the children of the poor and of the lower-middle classes started voluntary societies to secure the establishment of schools. This cause was one dear to the Utilitarians and to such reformers as Brougham; the Quakers were among the earliest of the sects to take active interest and positive measures. But the state assisted—and that somewhat reluctantly—through parliamentary grants to the national voluntary organizations which had been formed. Soon the whole matter became involved in sectarian dissension and bitterness. The schools which were established were not only inadequately staffed and equipped, but they were viewed as an adjunct of a church. The continued pressure of the middle classes, however, and the extension of the suffrage to include an increasing number of urban workmen, led Parliament to adopt a national policy. Miss Wodehouse says:[4]

> We conceive elementary education as being naturally both free and compulsory, but neither of these points was prescribed in 1870. School fees were abolished in 1891 in most schools, and reduced in the remainder, but their last vestige did not disappear till the Act of 1918. Compulsion came in by degrees. School boards from the beginning might compel attendance if they wished, and might pay the fees of necessitous children. In 1873 the children of parents receiving poor relief were obliged to attend. In 1876 a motive for absence was removed by forbidding the employment of children under ten; and the power of enforcing attendance in voluntary-school districts was given to School Attendance Committees if they desired it. In 1880 attendance was made universally compulsory up to ten years old. And so on by short steps. Universal full time attendance up to fourteen was not reached until the 1918 Act.

In much the same fashion, with bitter controversies between the sects as policy developed, the providing of special schools, training in vocational schools, the establishment of scholarship and maintenance aids to those passing qualifying examinations and competitive examinations, and the founding of new central and secondary schools have proceeded. The elementary-school system was developed to provide education for the lower-middle and working-class; and as they have pressed to continue their education, two courses have been adopted. On the one hand scholarships have been provided in existing old grammar schools in certain localities; on the other, two new types of state schools have come into existence. One is the secondary school (open to those paying fees or securing scholarships) whose course of study enables the successful student to prepare for a university course, or to enter into business or training in a profession not requiring university work. The other is a "central school," with a course of study shorter than that of the secondary school, not concerned with university preparation, but offering vocational courses leading to skilled trades, clerical positions, and the like. Thus the system is closely integrated with the social class system; although it is frequently possible for the unusually able youth from a working-class family to win scholarship and maintenance grants and to secure in that way a secondary-school education and even follow a university career.

Control in these new systems is complicated. It resides first in the local education authority, a committee from the local elective council (urban or county) with co-opted members who are persons presumably most interested in educational matters or holding positions giving them special acquaintance with them. Between this authority with its staff or expert education administrators and the individual school is inserted a Board of Managers, appointed to visit the school and supply a lay point of view from the neighborhood both to the master and to the higher authority. Above the authority is the Board of Education, with a minister responsible to Parliament, frequently a member of the Cabinet; a consultative committee to advise the experts and the minister on proposed changes in policy; and a staff of permanent officials, recruited by examination. This last official body exercises general supervision over the system in England and Wales through its visitation and inspection and its control over the award to the separate areas of grants of money which are made by the central government to the local areas upon the maintenance of proper standards and the making of adequate appropriations from the local rates.

The teachers in the elementary schools are now recruited chiefly from the training colleges. Many, having passed through the secondary school, have served as "pupil-teachers," and have then had the two- or three-year course of preparation in the training colleges which are under state supervision; some of these were established and are still partly maintained by the churches. In the higher schools—secondary, central, technical—the teachers are generally recruited from the universities or special technical colleges and institutes. The profession is organized in a large and powerful National Union of Teachers; its members serve on governing committees to represent its interests; it has members holding seats in Parliament; and it is able to bring pressure upon educational authorities through political connections and through threat of withdrawal of members from the area whose educational authority is recalcitrant. All this is in marked contrast with the rôle formerly taken by the teacher, and still held in some rural communities. Formerly the profession did not occupy a social position of dignity or independence; the parson looked upon the schoolteacher as a socially inferior assistant who should take charge of the Sunday school and do parish visiting. But the rates of salary have been much improved. The teacher can now secure in many communities a larger salary than that of the curate, while the pressure for more adequate training and the securing of representation upon committees and boards have elevated the social status of the profession.

In Scotland the school system is at once more comprehensive and more democratic. The tradition of education for all is strong; it had its origin, indeed, in the teachings of John Knox. The ambition to have a school in every parish from which any boy might proceed to the university was an objective which was gradually achieved, albeit to the mingled wonder and scorn of many Englishmen. Consequently, the provision of comprehensive educational facilities in Scotland has been accepted as a state charge as a matter of fact; and the development of such a system has taken place. It includes within its arrangements many old endowed schools, of which Edinburgh, for example, has several; it also includes secondary and technical schools of modern foundation, and (partly through the gifts of Andrew Carnegie) a relatively liberal scheme of scholarships and maintenance grants for higher education. Scotland has secured, therefore, what is practically a democratic system of education from elementary school through the university. This has been reflected not only in the success of the Scotch in the professions, journalism, business, and politics in Britain but throughout the empire. Like the English system, it is financed by local and central governments, and there is a Scottish Education Department through which the central grants are distributed and supervision administered. The control of policy is also vested in central, local, and school authorities and officials, tempered by the views of the Educational Institute and the body of teachers.

It is clear that any system which has developed in so piece-meal a fashion, with so much control left with the schools and with local authorities, and with participation of so many groups and interests, does not provide an instrument readily adapted for conscious direction in the interest of any one view or section. The whole scheme bears the marks, too, of the struggle of sectarian groups, and the effort of classes to secure educational opportunities for their children. It is only in the past few decades that provision has been made for the higher education of girls. An American observer says:[5]

> English education may be seen to correspond to the general social conditions of the country. The old aristocracy is represented in the public schools and the older universities. The universal franchise and the new spirit of social welfare are reflected in the universal provision of free elementary schools and all the "good works" that are carried on in them. The social opportunity for the poor boy or girl is to be found in the system of scholarships in secondary schools which are intended to reward ability and stimulate ambition. The vast unclassified portion of English society who are included between the upper and lower extremes find educational opportunities to meet their social aspirations and their financial means in almost bewildering variety of secondary schools and in the provincial universities.

Complex as is the organization of the British school system, and diffused as are the influences and authorities which control it, the arrangement of studies and the selection of materials are more so. While various memoranda and regulations of the Board of Education set forth general objectives and the studies that are required as well as the basic standards to be followed in the recruitment and payment of the staff, each authority, and within each authority each school, retains considerable freedom. Outside the system of state schools there is, also, the even greater freedom of the public and grammar schools under their own boards. Some order is achieved, however, through the fact that the associations of education authorities, of headmasters, of various groups of teachers, in their conferences reach substantial agreement on various problems. Again, the requirements that are set up by the universities and by examiners who set the scholarship examinations tend to fix standards of work to be covered. The system grows out of a homogeneous community; and it has evolved slowly over a long period of time, so that there are relatively few extraordinary differences among schools of the same type. Thus, while it is difficult to generalize confidently concerning the factors of teaching and materials, it is possible to obtain from certain studies which have been made some appraisals of the relationship between the schools and civic attitudes.

It is wise to begin with an estimate of the atmosphere which surrounds the system as noted by an observer who writes at the close of the war. Dr. Reisner says:[6]

> It is a noteworthy fact that England seems to have used the schools hardly at all as a means of nationalistic propaganda. In this respect that country stands out in strong contrast with Prussia and France. It is not to be forgotten, however, that the conditions which led these countries to turn the schools into nurseries of patriots were largely lacking in England. England has been a nation for centuries while Germany continued to be a "geographical expression." . . . . The English, on the other hand, have taken national unity and patriotism for granted on the part of all the people. They have tried to make the children of all the people morally better and more intelligent through the schools, but they have never used the schools for nationalistic ends. The worst you can say about the English in this respect is that they seem pretty consistently to have ignored the existence of other nations in their school instruction, but for that matter they have almost so completely ignored the study of their own past as a people and the social studies that deal with contemporary problems of citizenship. . . . . The system of administration which has been in vogue in England has made it difficult for any national program of patriotic instruction to be instituted by the central authorities, and it is doubtful if those authorities would have instituted such a program in case it had lain within their power. The entire tradition of English education and even the very traits of English character seem to oppose the notion of patriotic propaganda through the schools. . . . . The English elementary history books contain expressions like "with true British pluck" or "as gallant British seamen should," but they exhibit few or no examples of national boasting and they do not distort the facts of history for nationalistic ends. It is possible that the English have avoided the use of the schools for purposes of propaganda on the basis of principle. It is possible that they have done so as a result of the accidental evolution of their national system of schools. What England will do in respect to civic and nationalistic instruction after the war remains to be seen. There is some feeling being expressed that it should be given more attention than it has been given in the past. The Germans have overdone patriotic instruction, it has been said, but the English have not done enough in that direction. But whatever change occurs, it is not likely that the English, considering their connections with a truly international Empire, will consciously adopt a narrowing and provocative type of civic instruction in the public schools.

Whether it is possible to discern a change such as is suggested is a question discussed later; let us first consider the teaching in the schools as recent studies describe it.

The studies given in the schools which most directly affect general civic attitudes are history, English literature, and geography.[7] Courses in civics are rarely offered; but in some schools, in the latter part of the history work, civic problems are discussed. Indirectly the religious instruction influences civic outlooks, at least to the extent of leading the student to take for granted the close affiliation of the state with religious institutions. Is it not possible, also, that the examination of public questions from the point of view of their moral rightness, which characterizes much British politics, may come from this long-established practice of the schools? The study of the classics in the public and grammar schools reinforces the tradition of the governing classes, and supplies to those who persevere sufficiently some acquaintance with the ancient conceptions of the state and the duty of the individual to serve it. But for the vast number of children, history, English literature, and geography, studied until they leave school at fourteen, or, for a much smaller number, until sixteen or seventeen, will give whatever civic background the school system can supply.

The amount of time devoted to these studies varies with the school. Yet in the large, some estimate may be given. English and history are given throughout the school period, beginning with the very simplest use of language and the stories of national heroes simply told, concluding with the great writers of English literature and courses in European and Imperial history. From a study of the "time tables" of many schools, it appears that in order of time allowance the various subjects would rank as follows: English, mathematics, religious instruction, handicraft or domestic science subjects, drawing, history, geography, nature study and physical science, music, physical exercise. Variations among schools and between the courses for boys and for girls are numerous. In the higher schools the general arrangement of studies includes Greek, Latin, French, and German in the language group; English literature; mathematics; history and geography. The central schools and technical schools do not provide for the study of the ancient languages, and English literature, history, and mathematics supply the cultural basis to technical training. Most working-class boys, however, leave school at the age of fourteen; and while certain firms are co-operating with the central schools in taking boys who have followed a training course in clerical and commercial subjects, most industries are still indifferent to supporting the extension of education preparatory for industrial life beyond the present leaving age, and the continuation schools are relatively few in number. Thus, except for the upper middle-class and upper-class boys and girls in public and grammar schools and secondary schools, and the fraction of those from other classes who win scholarships and are enabled by family conditions to proceed farther, formal education means only what is secured up to the age of fourteen in primary and elementary schools maintained by the central and local education authorities; and within these the subjects and course of study outlined above will supply the general materials for forming opinions in civic matters other than those received at home or in "everyday life." Some estimate of what these materials are may be hazarded from a study of various reports and proposals which have come from British educators as well as outsiders.

The civic aspect of English literature has been mentioned; and fortunately we are supplied with the invaluable report on *The Teaching of English in England* from which to obtain information. This report was prepared by a representative committee; and it strongly urged strengthening the study of English literature in the schools for civic as well as the more formal educational purposes.

> We believe that such an education, based upon the English language and literature would have important social, as well as personal, results; it would have a unifying tendency. Two causes, both accidental and conventional rather than national, at present distinguish and divide one class from another in England. The first of these is a marked difference in their modes of speech. . . . . The second cause of division among us is the undue narrowness of the ground on which we meet for the true purposes of social life. . . . . The English people might learn as a whole to regard their own language, first with respect, and then with a genuine feeling of pride and affection. More than any mere symbol it is actually a part of England. . . . .

It was the recommendation of the committee that English become the basis, throughout the schools of the country, of a liberal education for all children, integrated as it would be with the study of history. A great part of the national heritage is to be found in a literature which supplies a world of imaginative and inspirational power, and this world is becoming known to an increasing number of boys and girls. The idea of a liberal education has in the past been associated almost exclusively with the classical studies of the public schools; it has therefore been, presumably, for the enjoyment of a special class. The point of view expressed in the report of the committee, therefore, gives to the study of English (both spoken and written) great civic significance; for it proposes a liberal education for every child, through his great national heritage. Indeed, the members of the committee urge upon the private preparatory schools and the public schools the need for more adequate provision for English studies in their arrangements. In the past the influence of the great traditions of English literature has been, in the schools, spasmodic and discontinuous. In the future it may (if the recommendations of the committee are followed) become the fundamental influence among the intellectual forces of school life.

In recent years there has been a new and changed interest in both history and geography. Partly this has been stimulated by the war; partly, too, by the interest in the League of Nations, and by such writings as those of Wells in his *Outline of History* and F. S. Marvin in his "Unity" series. The new emphasis is placed upon a wider interest in social development rather than on military, dynastic, and diplomatic chronicles; and it is supplemented by an interest in the local region, and growing from the local region, in wider contacts with other regions through trade, settlement, and travel. Miss Power's *Bibliography* illustrates this tendency, carried, indeed, even farther. "Hitherto children have left school with some idea of the history of their nation. If the League of Nations is ever to be real, they must leave it with some idea of the history of that other community to which they belong—mankind." She continues by suggesting that this may be done through a teaching of world-history, of social history, of England as part of a framework of other nations and interests, and through establishing a Humanity Day as well as celebrating Empire Day. As yet, however, the greatest attention in the schools is given to English history, with some attention to the development of the empire. There are courses in many schools also in ancient history and in European history; but the great mass of students are given the history of their own country only, and even but slight material on the development of the overseas parts of the empire. Educational Pamphlet Number 37 of the Board of Education on "The Teaching of History" reinforces, however, the statement of newer aims made above.

> We welcome, therefore, the evidence, of which there is much, that the history of other nations besides our own is being introduced where possible, and that history is being more and more regarded as belonging to all subjects in the curriculum and not merely to politics. The leading thread in the ordinary history course will still remain political, but this should not exclude relevant digressions and illustrations from other sides, and such enlargements of the original theme become necessary as History proceeds. . . . . However fully, therefore, the wide scope of History may be recognized, politics, in the wide sense, will remain one of its most essential parts, and to the History teacher proper will fall the duty of giving that positive training in political and social matters which is an increasing necessity in the modern state of millons of legally equal citizens.

In an earlier (1914) Board of Education Circular it is stated:

> What the pupil has to acquire, by the time he leaves school, is a tolerably connected view of the main outlines of British History; and he will observe as he proceeds how the social and industrial life of today, the dress, manners and customs of the people around him, and the physical aspect of England itself, are the result of the very gradual change which can be traced through many centuries. He will also gain, as his study of history progresses, some knowledge of the government of the country, the growth of free institutions, the expansion of the Empire, and the establishment of our position amongst nations.

A London County Council Education Committee report, full of valuable comment on the teaching of history, warns:

> We must close with a caution impressed upon us by our survey of educational methods abroad. The direct inculcation of Bonapartism in French schools under the two Napoleons did not prevent France from twice again becoming a republic; the officially inspired denunciation of socialism by Prussian schoolmasters has not materially impeded the spread of that doctrine at the doors of Hohenzollern palaces; and exhortations to loyalty to the Stars and Stripes do not hinder thousands of American citizens from transferring their allegiance to the British Dominion across the frontier. The deductions which the pupil makes from history are more effective than the organized admonitions of bureaucratic preceptors. Real patriotism cannot be made to order; and we doubt the need, as much as we distrust the wisdom, of such an adventitious aid to loyalty or to political propaganda in the British Empire as a strained interpretation of historical truth.

The report continues with suggestions as to subject matter from the infants' classes through the secondary school, with related topics such as visits to places of historic interest, map-making, drama, and other aids to the development of historic consciousness. A similar report covers the teaching of geography. The teaching of problems of government or of "civics" in the narrow sense of structure and functions of government is rare except as incidental to history; indeed, most teachers and educational administrators are frankly critical of including such materials in the school work. The real teaching of citizenship, they agree, is done through the systems of school government and school activities generally. The making of local regional surveys, supplemented by schools trips and integrating the work in history and geography, is becoming more common. The empire societies and similar organizations have some influence through the provision of maps, pictures, films (such as those provided, for example, by the Navy League), and the interchange of teachers with dominions teachers. But the most important element in the present history-teaching is probably the wider interests expressed by the phrase social history, linked, as it is, with literature and geography. It is a trend, one may say, from the writings of Kipling to those of Miss Power or F. S. Marvin, only partly under way, but clearly discernible. The treatment of the dominions' point of view and development is undoubtedly inadequate. This is due less to conscious intent than to inadequate knowledge and contacts. Such factors in British policy as the necessity for naval supremacy, too, would naturally be stressed. Yet one is impressed by the sincere effort of responsible leaders in elementary and secondary education to develop really wide interests and outlooks through the content and method of history-teaching.

If the task of finding common tendencies in the arrangement of studies seems difficult, how impossible must be that of appraising the books used in the different schools! Anthologies of patriotic verse, such as *The Call of the Homeland,* are widely used in the English literature work; famous British novelists, essayists, poets, are read. But the individual school has great freedom in selecting what history or other texts shall be used. Two studies have been made of these; and here again the total attitude which they describe may help us despite the range of differences among individual schools. The first is the *Enquète sur les Livres Scolaires d'Après Guerre,* of the Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale. This study of the books used in several European states which treat of the World War was intrusted to various individuals. The survey of Great Britain was prepared by Miss Clementina Black, professor of English language at Paris. After a brief account of the school system and the position of history-teaching in the schools, she gives the replies of several teachers or principals to requests for information concerning the teaching of the history of the World War, and then an examination of several texts. There is no indication of the amount of use of the particular books examined, however. The conclusions are:

> 1. Des efforts sont faits en Grande-Bretagne, dans diverses directions, pour introduire une réforme dans l'enseignement de l'histoire, en vue de developper chez les nouvelles générations un esprit de civisme et de fraternité internationale.
>
> 2. Ce mouvement a l'approbation de ministère de l'instruction publique, celle du Conseil de Comte de Londres et des autorités pedagogiques.
>
> 3. La correspondance que nous avons reçues, aussi qui les quarante-six volumes que nous avons parcourus, témoignent de la naissance d'un esprit nouveau, plus democrate, moins imperialiste et moins "insulaire." Cependant, nous ne savons pas dans vuelle mesure ces volumes nouveaux ont été adoptés par le corps enseignant.
>
> 4. La personalité du professeur, ses opinions et la repercussion des événements recents exercent sur la jeunesse une influence plus puissante que les manuels actuellement en usage dans les écoles, et si le corps enseignant, en entièr, ne possède pas encore "l'esprit international," beaucoup de ses membres ont cependant commencé à penser internationalement et à comprendre que "le patriotisme ne suffit pas."

The editor, M. J. Prudhommeaux, summarizing the findings of Miss Black's survey, remarks that

> L'impression qui se degage du rapport est conformé à ce que nous savons de l'esprit public anglais. La Grande-Bretagne, fière de l'appui de ses Dominions et de l'issue d'une guerre qui a consolide sa puissance dans la monde, en imposant en tous lieux le prestige de son drapeau et de sa livre sterling, été affranchie de tout esprit d'agression et de conquête. Elle s'est rallié d'enthousiasme a la Société des Nations, sachant bien, d'ailleurs, qu'elle y détiendra toujours une place prépondérante, et si l'on peut noter dans les livres anglais une ignorance quelque peu aristocratique de l'histoire des autres peuples, un esprit "insulaire" qui plait au particularisme britannique, on y voit de moins s'affirmer une foi sincère dans l'avenement d'un ordre international nouveau et use noble ambition de mettre la force anglaise au service de la justice et de la paix.

Scott's survey[8] is more inclusive in that he is concerned with the full sweep of history-teaching rather than that relating to the World War. He devotes four chapters to Great Britain—one on "Nationalism and Internationalism in British Education," one on "France in British Textbooks," a third on "The Great War in British Textbooks," and a fourth on "The United States in British Textbooks." "Generally speaking," he remarks, "within broad limits the individual school is left free to inculcate patriotism in England."

Scott's conclusions, based upon his study of texts, are of interest.

> Germany and the Germans fare better at the hands of the British textbook writer than they do at the hands of the French. There is less disposition to vituperation in the English textbooks, less disposition to dwell on atrocities alleged to have been committed by the Germans. . . . . The conclusions of honest investigation will meet with less resistance in England, I think, than in any other country, for the prevalent atmosphere there is one of tolerance and free speech.

Again:

> It is more unfortunate, from the international point of view, that, comparatively speaking, British knowledge of America is so scanty. . . . . Here and there in textbooks one finds some rather glaring errors. . . . . The late Ambassador Page was once asked to give a talk on the United States to the lads of one of England's most noted public schools. In accepting, he asked how much knowledge of American history he might assume on the part of the boys. "Assume none at all," was the reply. . . . .

But he adds, "The general attitude of the British school toward the United States is more friendly than is the attitude of the school in England, France, or Germany toward any other foreign country that has come under consideration in this investigation." And finally:

> Take it all in all, there are probably few more fertile fields for the germination and growth of the international ideal than England. In the first place, that ideal will flourish best in an atmosphere of freedom and frankness, such as prevails in that country. . . . . In the next place, England is a "satiated state." She has no thirst for colonies, as Germany had before the Great War, no stinging sense of loss as Germany has today. Her territorial ambitions satisfied, she wants no disturbance of international peace. In the third place, her isolation makes for the growth of the sentiment of peace. She is far less subject than the great powers of the Continent to the nationalist alarms and fears that make for war. . . . . Finally, her economic interests, more than those of any

other country, demand the comity of nations. . . . . There is, however, one important force militating against the success of internationalism in British education: the Briton's belief in the essential rightness of the British Empire, his tendency to identify the Empire with welfare of humanity. It was this belief that once led one of the most honoured of British statesmen to justify the opium traffic on the ground that it was desirable for the welfare of the British Empire. It was this belief that leads the British Association for the Advancement of Science to speak of the Empire as "the greatest human institution under heaven, the greatest secular organization for good." It was firm faith in this theory that led Lord Curzon to dedicate his *Problems of the Far East* "to those who believe that the British Empire is, under Providence, the greatest instrument for good that the world has ever seen, and who hold with the writer that its work in the Far East is not yet accomplished." Not every British boy, of course, is being brought up in all the fullness of Lord Curzon's faith. But the tendency to identify the good of the world with the good of the Empire is widespread.[9]

It would be impossible to give in such a study as this any adequate account of the attitude of the teaching staff; one can only record impressions based upon the scanty acquaintance that one obtains in traveling about and talking with teachers in various places. Such impressions, however, warrant the comment that apparently there is every sign of an attempt to avoid introducing particular nationalistic bias into the instruction. There is, it would appear, a recognition of the value of impressing the significance of imperial development upon the future citizens of the empire, and of the obligations which that development entails; but this is accompanied more and more by a desire to acquaint the student with the work of the League of Nations, and the obligations of state toward the maintenance of peace. Here again it is lack of knowledge and lack of contacts rather than conscious prejudice which is significant so far as the treatment of other countries is concerned.

Finally the effort of such organizations as the League of Nations Union, the History Association, the Civic Education League, the Women's International League, and the various history and geography conferences may again be stressed. Undoubtedly the present trend in history-teaching is for a wider outlook and a greater emphasis on social, regional, and international aspects of history.

The most important movement in recent years to develop greater knowledge of and interest in the empire in the schools was the use of the *Weekly Bulletin of Empire Study* issued by the Inter-

Departmental Educational Sub-Committee concerned with Government Participation in the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1924–25.[10] This Bulletin appeared in twenty-four issues, and was a syllabus with texts, maps, tables, and other materials on the history and development of the empire. In the final issue (July 11, 1924) it was stated:

> We are appealing to children between the ages of eleven and sixteen; these number some two million. The present issue of the *Weekly Bulletin* is about 125,000. It is a teachers' paper containing notes for lessons and it is safe to assume that the average copy provides instruction for a number of children. Sometimes a single copy reaches a class of sixty, but we will put the average very low. Say that each copy teaches twelve children and we have a million and a half out of two million children learning the lessons of Empire. If this seems an excessive claim, let us look at the results so far recorded at Wembley. Up to date (and it is now early July) the National Union of Teachers alone have issued nearly three-quarters of a million tickets of admission for school children. The Exhibition Authorities reckon the total attendance of children by the end of June at 1,200,000 or 150,000 a week.

The Epilogue points out the virtues necessary for imperial service and citizenship, the significance of the separate nations within the empire, and the evils resulting from the suppression of national interests of a part by the whole.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science has had a Committee on Training in Citizenship under the chairmanship of Bishop Welldon which has issued three reports. These give the most comprehensive view of the work being done in this field. The first report, issued in 1920, contains a syllabus prepared by the Committee, and valuable reports on systems of training in citizenship undertaken by various groups and schools.[11] The syllabus includes the following sections: The origin of the state, the history of civilization, citizenship (chiefly devoted to the discussion of moral qualities required), monarchy and democracy, central government, local government, the administration of justice, the police and public safety, public health, life assurance and pensions, education, national defense, the British empire, national unity, patriotism, industry and commerce, international relations, the press, housing, temperance, leisure, and recreation. It is significant that the various schemes in operation in training for citizenship stress chiefly moral and social qualities and characteristics to be developed through self-government in the school or Boy Scout unit.

Thus the Boy Scout scheme of Sir Robert Baden-Powell includes a listing of desirable traits and the specific duties or knowledge necessary for developing those traits. Most of the school plans center about the duties of the prefects and other officials of the student body in governing school activities, and the carrying on of work in school missions or some similar public or civic enterprise. There is also provided in some of the schemes instruction for the younger boys in moral standards, and for the later years in the structure of government. These instructions are supplemented by frequent visits to places of civic interest. The London County Council Education Committee has listed various places suitable for such trips. The Second Report of the Committee states:

> The older Public Schools of this country have never been wanting in the spirit of Citizenship, although the workings of that spirit may have been limited to a narrow field. . . . . Apart from the increased importance of Modern History and Geography as school subjects, special lectures on Civics are given at many schools, and many have started Political Societies in which modern social problems are discussed. . . . . An Inspector of Secondary Schools gives similar testimony, remarking that Sixth Forms throughout the country are adopting what he imagines to have been the mental attitude of the Rugby Sixth Form in the days of Arnold.

The strong emphasis placed by the Committee on training in moral standards is revealed further in the Third Report, in which the recommendation of the *Report on the Teaching of English in England* for greater use of the Bible in school instruction is supported. The report states further that "a knowledge of civics . . . . is only a part of the training in citizenship. The good citizen will certainly seek for knowledge of such subjects; but such knowledge alone will not make a good citizen. It is a valuable part of his training, but only a help to the formation of his character."

Another committee of the Association reported at the Toronto meeting in 1924 on "Education Training for Overseas Life,"[12] revealing the indifference or opposition of many headmasters to providing for special training in the schools for boys who may be stimulated to overseas settlement. The particular form of such training would presumably be agricultural education; relatively few boys enter the agricultural schools from the secondary schools. The committee recommended to the attention of schools the need for such settlers overseas, and the possible wisdom of developing in the school some provision for training suitable to overseas settlement.

The most impressive fact observable in all of these studies, based as they were upon information drawn from many schools in all parts of Britain, is the emphasis upon indirect methods and devices for developing civic training. Allied with this is the preoccupation with the moral aspects of citizenship. Most of the educators consulted belittled the values of any formal course instruction in civics, other than as incidental to history. But they united in emphasizing the great importance of the school games, school traditions and customs, and school government in developing qualities of citizenship.

A former president of the Board of Education, the Honorable H. A. L. Fisher, remarks:[13]

> Some years ago Mr. Arthur Acland introduced into the Evening School Code of the Board of Education a syllabus of instruction on the "Life and Duties of the Citizen." It consisted of statements of fact concerning the rôle played by different functionaries such as the policeman and the rate-collector, together with appropriate moral observations as to the need of public spirit and a sense of public responsibility. A considerable number of text-books were at once produced by enterprising publishers, all of which were reviewed at the time by Mr. Graham Wallas, who pronounced that "they constituted perhaps the most worthless collection of printed pages that have ever occupied the same space on a bookshelf," and that the lessons which were founded upon them "failed to stimulate any kind of interest in the students." The experiment was a failure. Young people want something more stimulating to the imagination than desiccated information about the details of local government. The real way to create the civic spirit in the young is by showing them the examples which history affords of lives lived and deeds done for the common weal. The more direct and specialized the civic training, the less effective will it be. . . . . Let it, however, not be supposed that some civic lessons of a practical kind cannot be appropriately and successfully taught to children. The war-savings movement is a case in point. Here a social object, of the very greatest importance, not only for the effective conduct of the war but for the spread of the investing habit among the people, was forwarded in a most effective and natural manner by missionary work among the elementary schools. . . . . The President of the Board of Education in England is constantly being assailed by excellent persons who desire him to give special prominence in the school curriculum to some aspect of truth or policy to which they attach a special importance. The Navy League urges that a very special place should be given in the education of British children

to the rôle played by sea-power in history, and more particularly to the importance of keeping the British Navy as a bulwark of national security. Temperance reformers desire that children should be taught that alcohol is an evil; apostles of the League of Nations that they should be instructed in the Covenant and principles of the League; strong imperialists that they should be well founded in Imperial Geography; while Socialist, Communist, and Proletarian Sunday Schools have their own particular receipts for turning out citizens. . . . . If we could with certainty predict the different combinations of powers fifteen or thirty years hence, we might, perhaps, allow that knowledge to affect in some degree our public education. But this we cannot do. We must be content to be ignorant of the future, and in our ignorance of the future we shall be best advised if we content ourselves with telling most scrupulously the truth about the past.

Through the selection of materials for use in English literature, history, and geography courses the teacher has influenced the youth of Britain. The testimony establishing the integrity of the teachers there, and of the reluctance of most authorities and masters to consciously direct the work of the schools for uses of propaganda, is strong. It is rather the lack of acquaintance with the culture of other regions and peoples, even that of the dominions overseas, coupled with the pull of the community and the homogeneous quality of school groups both in terms of nation and class, which supply an "insular" setting. A literature rich in patriotic verse of good quality, a history full of stirring deeds of valor in warfare and exploration, a geographic setting of empire that is romance itself, assist less conscious and obvious factors in developing pictures of the world that are peculiarly British. What are these other factors?

The activities or practices which, outside the more formal instruction described, affect the civic attitude of the students in the schools include student government, organized sports, the historic associations of the school and its buildings, school camps, school missions or settlements, Officer Training Corps, Boy Scout troops, recreational reading, and the ceremonies incident to Speech Day, Confirmation, Empire Day, and the visits to the school of royalty or distinguished graduates or guests. Most of these are best exemplified in the life of the public schools; the older day grammar schools come next; the secondary schools established by the education authorities well behind these two; and the elementary schools last.

A pre-war critic of the Public Schools says:[14]

> The sentiment that we live in an institution greater than ourselves, of which nevertheless we are conscious of being ourselves constituent elements, of constantly growing importance the longer we live within its sphere, is one of undoubted value in the formation of youthful character, and may lead to excellent results on our future conduct as citizens. This is, indeed, regarded as being a particularly distinguishing feature of the great boarding schools. . . . . Conduct and demeanour calculated "to disgrace the school" are held up as being offenses of more than usual enormity, and are not lightly condoned by the society to which the offender belongs. . . . . While the boy carries his enthusiasm for his school into maturer life, the tendency of the public-school atmosphere does not tend to cultivate afterwards a regard for those among his fellow-countrymen whose rank, station, and wants differ from his own. . . . . Still less is the English school boy led to grasp the grander conception of an Empire. . . . . The languid and even condescending attitude towards the overseas dominions, and the abysmal ignorance of their geography and potentialities, which is the not uncommon characteristic of the insular Englishman, and which awakens the susceptibilities and disgust of our brethren beyond the seas, may be due partly to an almost complete lack of interest and instruction in the subject in early youth. . . . . The result is, that when he comes across conditions entirely foreign, and sometimes even opposed, to his youthful experiences, especially such as are encountered outside his insular environment, and in the great dominions overseas, he is often unfitted for the encounter.

But the associations which have unfitted, perhaps, the youth for life in other regions strengthen his acceptance of a fixed place in British society. Nor is this acceptance merely his own; one is told in many places by teachers in local schools, and by active Labour party workers, that whatever the defects of the public-school products, they do at least recognize obligations to the community arising out of their position. How far such views are the product of an inverted form of snobbery, or of favorable contrast of public-school boys to the manner born with an unpleasant kind of *arriviste* in the lower classes who has won a way through the secondary school and university by his cleverness, is uncertain. The novels of school life—McKenna's *Sonia*, Mackenzie's *Sinister Street*, Waugh's *The Loom of Youth*, or Benson's *David Blaise*—do reveal, however, the strength of the system of government in which great power resides with the prefects, and prestige is possessed by the leaders of the different games.[15] In these schools, also, is concentrated the very essence of the governing class. Those families which rule throughout the empire in church and state are represented there; the school halls will be hung with portraits of distinguished graduates, the chapels contain their memorials, those still living award the prizes on Speech Day or secure a half-holiday for the school upon the occasion of their visits. The school becomes in itself a little state with its own governing class; but it is bound by ties of family and of school itself to this class in the larger world of empire.

Even more directly, however, do the deliberate civic activities maintained by the school influence the youth. The Training Corps with its regular drill, its summer camp,[16] its emphasis upon the obligation to serve in the armed forces of the country in order that there shall be an adequate officer material is partly balanced here by the school missions maintained in the cities where members of the school assist in coaching or in organizing boys' clubs. There are summer camps for poor boys of the cities maintained by the wealthier public schools which also provide from their membership boys who serve as camp leaders and advisers. Wallas remarks:[17]

> The emotions of children are, however, most easily reached not by words but by sights and sounds. If, therefore, they are to love the state, they should either be taken to see the noblest aspects of the State, or those aspects should be brought to them. And a public building or ceremony, if it is to impress the unflinching eyes of childhood, must, like the buildings of Ypres or Bruges or the ceremonies of Japan, be in truth impressive. The beautiful aspect of social life is fortunately not to be found in buildings or ceremonies only, and no Winchester boy used to come back uninfluenced from a visit to Father Dolling in the slums of Landport; though boys' eyes are even quicker to see what is genuine in personal motive than in external pomp.

The ceremonials and celebrations of the schools—Founder's Days, Speech Days, and the like, may give a dignified expression to the historic continuity of the corporate life of the school. Thus the public school indirectly creates powerful civic attitudes: a sense of obligation which membership in the school and established position unite in conferring upon the youth to serve his state; and a recognition of the fact that there is a necessity for accepting, despite personal preferences, the given superior officers or traditional arrangements. The requirements of team play and of living together with any degree of personal convenience include this subordination to accepted rule and customary government.

One of the most striking tendencies is the effort which is being made to develop in the new secondary schools the "public-school spirit." Upon this the present president of the Board of Education (a public-school man) is particularly insistent. School arms, insignia, colors, blazers, and caps are adopted; a beginning has been made of adopting the prefectual system; there are even some Officer Training Corps. But the Boy Scout troop is perhaps more acclimated in the strata of society from which the secondary schools recruit their students. Nor are there traditions, old buildings and customs, distinguished graduates, or the association in literature and popular knowledge of these newer schools with the governing classes and the "sense of state." There is included in an earlier chapter a reference to the way in which the new Bec School has already created its own traditions extending back into the Middle Ages; but not all schools have such opportunities or the wit of a governor to help them. Nor can the opposition of some parents and local rate-payers to this tendency be ignored. Not everyone, by any means, wants to see the secondary schools ape the fashionable public schools in these efforts to (as some might see it) practice snobbery. Whatever one's opinion, it is an illustration of the attitude of the established classes that the extension of the secondary-school system is accompanied by a strenuous effort to associate it with the public schools.[18]

There are occasional attacks upon the Boy Scout organizations by "left-wing" Labour leaders on the ground that these organizations are militarist and imperialistic. Lately their program has been extended by an emphasis on local and regional surveys, and a greater emphasis on nature study. They remain primarily a middle-class organization associated with church, chapel, and secondary school, including in their numbers relatively few working-boys or public-school boys. The former are more often organized in the boys' clubs of the settlements or of the camps maintained by public schools or various settlement houses; and through these some civic education through sports and camp and club organization and government is secured.

Empire Day ceremonies and celebrations are of comparatively recent origin,[19] and are still viewed by the "old-fashioned Little Englanders" as smacking a bit of early-century imperialism. Most schools now hold some kind of public exercises; addresses are given by persons holding public positions; prize essays on the empire are prepared; and the various empire societies mentioned in an earlier chapter have endeavored to increase the interest in this topic in the schools through sending out pictures, films, lecturers, and developing exchange of correspondence among school children of the empire.

Dean Inge asserts:[20]

> So far as our culture is traditional it is in danger from the vast aggregation of people who have no traditions, uprooted from the soil, and crowded together under conditions which create an angry and rebellious class-consciousness without the "organic filaments" which bind together all the members of a healthy society. In all countries alike, which have developed industrialism on a large scale, civilization is confronted with a new and dangerous type, whose character is still imperfectly known. How far this part of the population can be leavened by what is most wholesome in the national tradition, is a problem of the future; no confident answer can be given.

In most countries the institution which is called upon to bear the heaviest burden in assimilating into the older national culture the masses of citizens is the school. What tendencies can be discerned in Britain which affect this situation?

On the one hand comes the demand from certain Labour leaders, from many educators, and from many educational reformers, for a general extension of educational opportunities to all children.

> The direction of ability into the channels in which it can best serve the community depends upon the existence of such abundant opportunities of higher education that every child can be fitted to perform the service which it can best render. A nation which allows secondary education to remain scarce and dear, is, quite literally, sterilizing itself. So far from there being any foundation for the fear that money may be wasted in providing higher education for children who cannot make good use of it, the actual fact is that not only money, but brains and character, are being wasted today through our culpable refusal to provide it for those who can.[21]

This declaration of Mr. R. H. Tawney's epitomizes, perhaps, the case of the democrats. They would break down so far as possible the economic class barriers which affect the educational system in England and Wales especially by opening the secondary schools without fees to the children who have passed through the elementary schools successfully and with maintenance allowances to those needing them. The existing central schools would develop a basic general course, thus eliminating any distinction in the early years between them and the secondary schools, and removing the segregation which exists between those who must perforce end their schooling at the earliest possible time and those who are financially able to complete a secondary-school course. In addition to this, the leaving age would be raised ultimately, it is hoped, to sixteen years.

Against this position many groups are gathered. The most numerous is that composed of taxpayers who oppose any increase in expenditures for education on financial grounds, holding that the recipients of educational advantages should pay for them. But an argument which is intellectually more imposing is advanced by many Conservatives, and an impressive group which includes Graham Wallas and Sidney Webb.[22] In general it is argued that such an extension of the system takes no account of the differences in capacity of students; that it is wiser to retain the existing system, providing in the schools already established room for clever girls and boys through competitive examinations, and developing specialized schools and courses for students of special abilities. This group fears the "Americanizing" of the British schools; although across the border in Scotland the democratic system would seem, at least, to have provided a group of people competent to hold high position in most British institutions. In part, this opposition comes because of a desire to keep down expenditures from a class which is able to send its children to public schools; but there is also the substantial representation of those who would preserve by every possible means the old tradition of a public school governing class education, and would have it extended gradually, with many of its accompaniments, into the secondary schools. The little band of educational idealists in this group hope to see a picked aristocracy of talent emerge, who might then be given special and intensive higher educational training. The mass of students would, of course, complete their formal education in the technical and vocational schools before entering commerce and industry. "We must not forget," Sidney Webb has asserted in a public address, "that there is a law of diminishing return in education."

Clearly here is a clash which is fundamental and important. But an even more difficult issue is now discerned. The continuance of economic depression has been accompanied by growing exacerbation of class relationships; and issues of foreign policy—relations with Russia, for example—and internal stresses such as the situation in the coal industry and the General Strike have increased the separation between classes. There has been an effort among both groups to use the school system in this potential social clash. Where the Labour party has obtained control over the local education authority, Officers' Training Corps have been abolished, Empire Day observances neglected, patriotic emblems removed from the schoolrooms, and various other manifestations of antagonism to the existing political and social system expressed. These are, it is true, isolated incidents; nor is the Teachers' Labour League a powerful group. Its secretary, however, has stated:[23]

> To realize the slogan of "Socialism in Our Time" it is necessary to build up the foundations of a Socialist State; to maintain the Socialist State it will be necessary to ensure that the younger generation of Socialist teachers must be organized and prepared against the day. . . . . Only teachers who are also Socialists can deal effectively with the question of imperialist, militarist, and anti-working-class bias in the schools. During the year the League is carrying out an examination of text-books which should do much to destroy the carefully fostered illusion of "no politics in the schools."

The aims of the National Union of Teachers include the extension of control over educational policy to teachers represented on the education authorities and over registration and dismissal of teachers. A resolution was adopted at the Labour Party Conference at Margate in 1926 calling for a committee to investigate "how far the present books, pictures and other materials used in the schools foster a bourgeois psychology, militarism and Imperialism, and how far, under a workers' administration, this might be counteracted and a proletarian attitude towards and outlook on life might be cultivated." Perhaps the straining of nerves which the industrial and political disputes of the year had caused had made many people more sensitive to these expressions. The president of the Board of Education, Lord Eustace Percy, used an opportunity at the meeting of the North of England Education Conference at Liverpool in January, 1927, in his address as President of the Conference, to censure them. Opening[24] with a reminder that the schools had been kept free from propaganda, he continued:

> The truth applies with even greater force to the teaching of citizenship. An Old Boys' Association in a school is usually better evidence of the sound teaching of citizenship in a school than the most elaborate syllabus of "civics." The teaching of the duty of patriotism is not un-

> necessary, but every teacher knows how dangerous that method is unless confined within certain limits. Especially, perhaps, in this country do we need to bring children up to patriotism through the performance of practical duties, because that was, after all, the way in which we as a people have attained national unity. . . . . If Governments, whether local or central, begin to prescribe to the teacher a certain method of teaching, or even attempt to influence him in such matters, we run the risk of all those evils that we have seen in various forms both in the Prussia of the past and the Russia of today. . . . . There is a constant and a conscious effort among a large section of our fellow-countrymen to conduct political propaganda, directly or indirectly, among children.
>
> Local party politics are now becoming more and more embittered; we are beginning to get instances where, on the thoroughly un-English principle of "the spoils to the victors," a victorious party is ready to expel from education committees men of other political opinions who have given their life's work to local education, and where that happens the "spoils system" follows its usual course—it is extended from the composition of committees to the exercise of patronage. . . . . That is the danger and, I fear, the tendency.

Later in the same month the minister received a deputation from the Royal Society of St. George on the subject of patriotism in the schools, the Lord Mayor of the City of London opening the discussion by reading the following resolution passed by the society: "That the direct and systematic teaching of patriotism, as advocated by the Society since its formation in 1894, should be included in the curricula of schools of every grade as the most practical and effective antidote to disloyal and revolutionary propaganda, and that the founding of chairs of patriotism in our universities is eminently desirable." Among the members of the deputation were Sir Stanley Machin, of the Chamber of Commerce, Lord Burnham, the newspaper proprietor, and the Lord Mayors of London and Liverpool.

In reply to this gathering,[25] Lord Eustace Percy admitted the existence of an obligation upon the schools.

> With regard to the teaching of patriotism in schools, he would say "yes, of course." There was no need to pass a minute on that. It had been dropped out of the Code for technical reasons, but it had been on the record ever since the beginning of the Board's administration, and it was recognized by all local authorities, and, he believed, by the whole body of the teaching profession. The proper teaching of patriotism depended entirely upon the individual teacher and the way he taught.

He then went on to speak of disloyal propaganda, un-British in character; and then re-emphasized the view described earlier in this chapter.

> Examples from other countries were always interesting and had their influence; but if we had a native tradition on which we could build, it was better to build on it than to copy other countries. It was not as if this country had not got a native tradition of patriotism in education. With all the experiments of other countries in the teaching of patriotism, their results might be said to lag behind the actual achievements of our old public schools in the turning out of people who knew what patriotism and citizenship really meant. Our public-school tradition was something on which surely we should build before we built on anything else. A great deal of the difficulty about building up a real feeling of citizenship and a real practise of good manners in social life in the elementary school was the lack of playing grounds and facilities for organized sports. . . . . The Board of Education were now revising the history handbook, with suggestions to teachers. . . . . They could not have better evidence of the interest in Empire affairs than was shown in the Wembley Exhibition. . . . . The problem was more important than the merely ceremonial one. . . . . It ought to be clearly laid down by the Board of Education, by local authorities, by the teaching profession, and by everybody who had anything to do with education, that patriotism was the very foundation of the whole of our teaching in the schools. The method by which that patriotism was taught must be mainly in the hands of the teaching profession. The problem was mainly a teaching and not an administrative one.

While these sentiments may be dictated in part by the harassments of administrative life, apparently a new attitude toward the schools and the teaching of citizenship in the schools is discernible. The interest of the British Association in Civic Education and Training for Overseas Life; the alarm of certain clergymen at the socialist Sunday schools; the action of "patriotic societies" as illustrated above; the opposition of educational officials to the speeches and actions of Labour party councillors; the desire, to be noted in a later chapter, to protect British children from American films, or Russian radio addresses; the interest in extending public-school camps for poor boys and securing playing-fields for crowded districts becauses of their civic by-products; but most of all the determined effort to mold the new state secondary schools after the public-school model—these are evidences of a new spirit and new policy, tentative now, but with the powerful forces of church, governing classes, and even some educational reformers behind them.

A system of state education is decidedly recent in England and Wales; and the implications of such a system are not wholly realized perhaps. The public-school, governing class tradition has in the past appeared adequate to the task of education in civic responsibilities, since those responsibilities have fallen upon this small group. Now that this group no longer retains complete control, but finds its power challenged by men and women from shop and chapel and board school; now that these new governors ask that educational opportunities be extended so that the handicap of poverty will not be so decisive upon the fortunes of their children; now that the views of these newcomers challenge the axioms and premises of the governing class, it has awakened, perhaps, to a problem of civic education of a somewhat narrower kind than even that of Russia, Prussia, France, or the United States of America. Civic education has come to connote, with this class, the maintenance of the public-school tradition; the moral claim of empire; the ethics of the game; and the proper adjustment, and assignment to the task and rôle in the social scheme of each class and each individual. Lytton Strachey says:[26]

> Teachers and prophets have strange after-histories; and that of Dr. Arnold has been no exception. The earnest enthusiast who strove to make his pupils Christian gentlemen and who governed his school according to the principles of the Old Testament, has proved to be the founder of the worship of athletics and the worship of good form. Upon those two poles our public schools have turned for so long that we have almost come to believe that such is their essential nature, and that an English schoolboy who wears the wrong clothes and takes no interest in football is a contradiction in terms. Yet it was not so before Dr. Arnold; will it always be so after him? We shall see.

The public school, after which the new secondary schools are being modeled so far as materials permit, is perhaps a kind of Platonic republic, in which the Oxford and Cambridge "honors" men are guardians. Their fellows are playing the same rôle in politics and administration; they may eventually play it, indeed, in commerce and industry. What attitudes do these men bring to their callings? And what is the significance of the new universities?

NOTES

1. For a general outline of the development of English Education, see *A Survey of the History of Education,* by Helen Wodehouse, professor of education at Bristol University. This book is really an account of educational movements in Western Europe and England, chiefly the latter. The material includes

the latest important English trends. *The Old Grammar Schools* by Foster Watson is a short, interesting account of the medieval grammar schools, their decline, and the emergence of the "Great Public Schools." Typical studies of contemporary schools and systems are to be found in *The Elementary Schools Handbook* and *A Guide to Continued Education in London,* both published by the London County Council; *The Organization of Education in Edinburgh,* published by the Education Authority of that city; *The Public Schools Yearbook; The Girls' School Yearbook; Reports of the Board of Education;* and the *Report of the Departmental Committee of the Board of Education on the Training of Teachers for Public Elementary Schools.* Valuable studies from a special point of view are: *Secondary Education for All,* by R. H. Tawney, setting forth a proposed educational policy for the Labour party; and *Staffing in Public Elementary Schools,* by Barbara Drake; and *Education and Training of Teachers,* by G. S. M. Ellis, both published by the Labour Joint Publications Department. The *Times* on July 24, 1925, published the debate on education in the House of Commons on the previous day, participated in by Lord Eustace Percy, the minister; by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, the former Liberal Coalition minister; Mr. Charles Trevelyan, the former Labour minister; and others. The best brief descriptions of contemporary British educational systems are in *Nationalism and Education Since 1789,* E. H. Reisner (New York, 1922), Part III; and the *Educational Yearbook* (New York, 1926), "England" and "Scotland." The general educational system in Scotland is described in the various publications of the Educational Institute of Scotland (47 Moray Place, Edinburgh). See also *Letters to Isabel,* by Lord Shaw of Dunfermline, who was influential in securing the establishment of large endowments for Scottish education by Andrew Carnegie and whose memoirs contain much valuable information on the school and university system. The *Report on Reform in Scottish Education* of the Scottish Education Reform Committee is useful (17 North Bridge, Edinburgh, 1917). See also *Social Progress and Educational Waste,* by Kenneth Lindsay (London, 1926).

2. See Reisner, *op. cit.,* p. 266.

3. See *The Public School and the Empire,* H. B. Gray (London, 1913), for a critical study of these schools. H. T. Williams' *Great English Schools* (London, 1925), is a criticism of the use of the funds of these schools for well-to-do classes rather than the poor. There are numerous school histories, memoirs of masters (e.g., Butler, of Harrow; Warre, of Eton; Sanderson, of Oundle). Nevinson's *Chances and Changes* gives a picture of Shrewsbury School of the past generation; Hugh Walpole's *The Gods and Mr. Perrin* (American title) of the life of a preparatory school. I have cited other school novels in the text. Kipling's *Stalky and Company* is not viewed as typical by most schoolmasters, but it has a tang of reality when it touches upon schoolboy patriotism. See *Across the Bridges* by Alexander Paterson for the life of London working-class boys.

4. *Op. cit.,* pp. 201 *et seq.*

5. Reisner, *op. cit.,* p. 317.

6. P. 317.

7. Professor C. K. Webster has asserted in his lecture on *The Teaching of World Citizenship* (published by the League of Nations Union) that "We can claim that in the last twenty or twenty-five years historical teaching in this country has entirely changed." The lecture gives examples of the spread of efforts to teach a world citizenship. For the time devoted to different studies throughout the elementary and secondary schools, see the tables, pp. 187 *et seq.,* in the study of *Differentiation of Curricula between the Sexes in Secondary Schools.* English, Latin, Greek, French, and mathematics are assigned the larger portion of the time, with history and geography next. Of course, there is much variation in the "time tables" of different types of schools, and of different schools of the same

type by locality, and any estimate must be only an approximation. This is discussed also in the report on *The Teaching of English in England*, where criticism is expressed of the lack of attention given to the English language and literature in the earlier years of school life especially.

The teaching of English is discussed in great detail in the report just cited; that of history will be found discussed in the Board of Education Educational Pamphlet 37, *The Teaching of History.* Two London County Council Education Committee reports should be consulted: *Report of a Conference on the Teaching of Geography in London Elementary Schools* and a similar report on history. See also *Suggestions for the Teaching of History,* Board of Education Circular 833 (1914). The League of Nations Union, a non-partisan organization of over half a million members, has been most active in supplying printed materials, speakers, and other supplements to the ordinary schoolwork. Since the League is a part of the official governing organization with which the citizen is connected, it has a natural place in the school teachings. The Association of Local Education Authorities as well as the Board of Education have taken official action in recommending instruction concerning the League in the schools. Lecturers from the League of Nations Union are given an opportunity to address the schools, Junior Branches of the Union have been established, and the *League News* is distributed. This experiment in instruction in international organization may well be studied in more detail by consulting the following publications of the League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W. 1: *League News,* a paper for boys and girls (issued once a term); *The League of Nations and the Schools; League of Nations,* notes for lessons, or addresses, to young people, by F. J. Gould; *The Study and Teaching of International Relations; Fighting Death, and other Plays; A Children's Masque of the League of Nations; The A.W.C.F.L.*, a drama for children; *Good Citizenship and the League,* an Armistice Day address to children between ten and fourteen; *Teachers and World Peace; An Experiment in a Secondary School;* and *Organizing Peace.* See also the *Report on Instruction of Children and Youth in the Existence and Aims of the League of Nations,* submitted to the Sixth Assembly by the Secretariat (Geneva, 1925), with the *Supplementary Report.*

There is a valuable *Bibliography for School Teachers of History* by Miss Eileen Power, issued by the Women's International League. This has reference to world-history as well as English and empire history. See also the memorandum on *The Schools of Britain and the Peace of the World* by associations of teachers and the Union, published in the "Times Educational Supplement," June 18, 1927.

8. J. F. Scott, *The Menace of Nationalism in Education* (London, 1926), chaps. viii–xii inclusive. For the newer approach to history and civics, see Whitehouse and Gooch, *Wider Aspects of Education* (Cambridge University Press, 1924); *The Teaching of Modern Civics,* by Miss E. M. White (London, 1923); *Observation,* a journal published at LePlay House, 65 Belgrave Road, London; *The Regional Survey Method in Education,* Scottish Regional Survey Association, Outlook Tower (Edinburgh, 1922).

9. See the *Bookman* ([American], October, 1926), p. 181, for a discussion of the preferences of English children in reading.

10. *Weekly Bulletin of Empire Study,* published by the Inter-Departmental Educational Sub-Committee (Government Participation in the British Empire Exhibition). It comprises a series of references, readings, drawings, and other teaching materials on the history, geography, and development of the empire. Several organizations interest themselves in teaching materials and cultural relations concerning the empire. I discuss these in the chapter on "The Empire" in more detail. "Empire Day" is celebrated in the schools, the elementary schools *Handbook* of the London C.C. Education Committee stating that it is to be ob-

served "with a view to awakening in the minds of the children attending the schools a true sense of the responsibilities attaching to their inheritance as children of the Empire, and the close family tie which exists among all British subjects." See also the circular (1770) of that authority issued for Empire Day, 1915—*The Rally of the Empire.*

11. See especially the appendixes to the First Report (1920). The Second Report (1921) should be studied for the extracts from letters of headmasters concerning the teaching of civics, especially Section 1 and Section 2, pp. 362 *et seq.* I cull the following: "I confess to a distrust of instruction in Citizenship. . . . . It means instruction in ideas of things as they are, not as I think they might be for new needs." "The whole History and a good deal of geography and much English Literature and Classical teaching offer plenty of scope for inculcating Citizenship." "The self-government of boys is a very remarkable feature of English life, and I see no reason to doubt that boys learn much practical citizenship from their experiences in governing one another." "Citizenship must be 'caught,' not 'taught.' The primary lesson of a Public School is that no man lives to himself, but is a member of a larger community, his House, and his School. The excessive reverence paid to athletes is partly due to the sound instinct that they do more for the honour and glory of their community than the mere self-seeking scholar. This feeling for the community is in many cases (not in all) carried with a boy when he leaves school. But on the whole the Public School boy finds it more acceptable to die for his country than to live for it. He will go cheerfully to Passchendaele to die for his country or to the West Coast of Africa, but he shies at the Town Council." "No formal lessons are given in this subject; all boys who are physically able to do so have to join the O.T.C. (Junior Branch), and when in uniform are, of course, under military discipline. In addition to this, the Prefect system and the whole tradition of a Public School tends to foster that *esprit de corps* which it is the aim of 'Training in Citizenship' to inculcate." "I know one sure way of sickening boys of Civic Duties, and that is to have a course called Civics. . . . . The greatest lever of all ought to be the College Mission." "The Civics Class, a voluntary class intended for boys in their last year here and for a certain number of others, meets once a week. Lectures are given by masters and sometimes by persons outside, such as the Master of Balliol and the Warden of Toynbee Hall." "History and Geography are, however, given a distinctly 'imperial' bias. . . . . My experience at Winchester in the days of Father Dolling leads me to consider a 'live' School Mission as easily the first agent in developing a right spirit among Public School boys." But see also the further statements. Those which I previously quote are fairly representative. The persons quoted are headmasters of the outstanding public schools.

12. Schools have co-operated with empire societies in sending out parties of boys to tour the dominions; some schools in the dominions provide special training for boys who have come out to settle and take up agriculture; and many efforts are made through speeches, the press, films, governmental officials, exhibits such as the Wembley Exhibition and other devices to arouse interest among the boys in overseas settlement. In Sarah Millin's brilliant little study of *The South Africans* there is a comment which helps to explain certain difficulties (p. 172). "The boy who is taken to an English school returns to the land of his birth estranged from it in character and outlook. That is, in part, the idea. He is to develop like the son of an English gentleman rather than like the son of a South African gentleman. . . . . He finds that he has, during his formative years, got out of touch with his contemporaries, and somehow or other, he can never get into touch with them again. He has lost his easy simplicity. He is a little haughty about local institutions—and, indeed, not very interested in them. He has a different set of ideas and aspirations, and a different standard for people. . . . .

The end of it is, he is as much an Englishman in South Africa as if he had been born in England: he is an *Uitlander.*"

13. *The Common Weal* (New York, 1924), pp. 59–68.

14. Gray, *op. cit.,* pp. 195–99.

15. Stephen McKenna, in his *While I Remember* (Doran: New York, 1921), out of his experience both as a schoolboy at Westminster and later as a master there, remarks (pp. 164–65): "And, if faith is sometimes tried, faith in public-school education was justified in the years from 1914 to 1918. If it be granted hypothetically that the war was won for England and, further, that it was won by soldiers in the field rather than by ministers, munition-makers, bankers, and military correspondents, it was won by the leadership of the officers and by the fighting quality of the men; and the leaders were supplied first to the old army and then to the new, for the first years of the war, almost wholly by the public schools. When, at the end, the net was thrown more widely, the quality of the officers deteriorated; though they lacked nothing of courage, they could furnish no substitute for something indefinable but recognizable—never so quickly recognized as by the men they led—which only a public school provides.

"Apart from its training in character, public-school education was justified in that, if the aim of education be to teach a man how to learn, the versatility of the old public-school boy was a rare tribute to his education; and versatility is not confined to knowing the commercial or even the scientific jargon of half-a-dozen languages. Hardly a man was not in some degree uprooted; and all took to their new work and to their new responsibilities as light-heartedly as they would to a new game. It is in this sense that the British may fairly claim to be an imperial people: the empire, since the days of Warren Hastings (an Old Westminster), has been administered by public-school boys with public-school methods and the public-school tradition of responsibility; if the empire disintegrate, it will be because the time has come for the administration to pass into native hands or because the work of public schools abroad is stultified at home. It was the public-school boy who officered the new armies, the new civil service, the whole of a new nation organizing itself for war." A similar attitude is found in Kipling's *Stalky and Company,* of course; and I was interested to hear from one of the leaders of the left-wing group in the Labour party a vehement defense of the same position which was reiterated by one of the moderate "intellectuals" of former public school teaching experience. The latter two stressed the point that the boys develop in the schools the sense of obligation for serving the community, despite the dangers of acquiring excessive class feeling. Undoubtedly this experience of a privileged class of boys tends to stamp in basic and fundamental outlooks and attitudes that later are rarely questioned, despite an appearance of relatively wide intellectual freedom and self-scrutiny. The acceptance of discipline and leadership imposed by an old institution, the eventual wielding of that leadership with firmness, fairness, and correctness as the system provides in its standards, the observance of the standards and morals of sport, the recognition of the obligations of the empire, interwoven as it is with the scheme of monarchical and class arrangements and the church, the sense of trusteeship for a world-empire peopled by alien folk who require firm and just guidance by soldier, administrator or cleric, the keeping open of the great sea routes by the navy—these concepts, while rarely expressed in any conscious fashion by most boys, are nevertheless clearly acquired in part by the public-school experience. For showier forms of expression, note the addresses of more or less distinguished elders at the annual "Speech Days" when prizes are awarded, promotions made, etc. See the *Times* or *Morning Post* during the latter part of any July for reports of these, and also "The Public School Spirit in Public Life," by Bishop Weldon, *Contemporary Review,* November, 1927.

16. See the article entitled "Boredom in the O.T.C." in the *Nation and Athenæum* for February 23, 1929, for a discussion of the influence of the Corps on the civic attitude of schoolboys. The Officers' Training Corps go to camp during the summer on Salisbury Plain, approximately 6,000 cadets participating. There are other camps also in the North and in Scotland. See the *Morning Post* for July 28, 1925, for an article entitled "Cadets in Camp." Marlborough maintains also a summer camp to which elementary schoolboys are invited, boys from the Marlborough College acting as organizers and leaders in the camp. There are other camps maintained by public-school groups for poor boys from the city schools. See also "English Sport in English Education" by H. J. Savage, *School and Society,* Vol. XXV, No. 636 (March 5, 1927).

17. Graham Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics (*2d ed.; Boston, 1915), p. 193.

18. Note, however, the warning in *Democracy After the War,* by J. A. Hobson, pp. 186 *et seq.* "But the reactionists, recognizing that religion has lost a good deal of its ancient hold upon the masses, plan a more audacious policy. They propose to impose their own social dogmas, militarism, imperialism, protectionism, exclusive nationalism, as a new religion upon the teaching and discipline of the schools of the people. Everywhere in the teaching of history, geography, or literature, the emotional bias of 'patriotism' is to prevail, while the elements of civics and even of biology are to be exploited so as to impress class discipline, national pride, the duty of prolific parentage, race hostility, and to divide popular solidarity at every stage by presenting life as a competitive struggle instead of a human co-operation. . . . . Military drill, the worship of the flag, Empire Day, and other 'national saints' days,' the whole tenor of the *esprit de corps* and the 'atmosphere' of school life are to be directed to produce effective fighting patriotism. . . . . Nor is it only a question of the elementary schools. The whole system of secondary education and the new universities to which the people have access in our great industrial centers will, if permitted, be turned into forcing houses for militarism, imperialism, and exclusive nationalism, and the teaching of history, economics, and civics will be insidiously directed to construct intellectual defenses against the inroads of democracy." The whole chapter is a powerful analysis of the danger to democracy from the threat of abuse of the educational system. It is fair to state that there is less apparent danger of the realization of this threat in Britain than in most states, due in part to the efforts of many leaders among the educational professions, as well as the rank and file.

19. See note 10.

20. *England* (New York, 1926), p. 86.

21. R. H. Tawney, *Education, The Socialist Policy* (London, 1924), p. 36.

22. Wallas has set forth his view in most attractive form in his *The Art of Thought* (London, 1926), chaps. xi and xii, and has discussed the professionalism of teachers in *Our Social Heritage* (New Haven, 1921), pp. 141 *et seq.* See the *Report of a Committee of the Board of Education on Tests of Educable Capacity,* 1924. There is a considerable body of opinion among the Conservatives and business men which is critical of developing wider opportunities for higher education for the mass of students. This is expressed in the remarks of Lord Hugh Cecil in the debate referred to above; see also an editorial entitled "Spurious Education" in the Conservative *Saturday Review* for September 5, 1925. "The assumption that the majority should be trained, at State expense, to resemble the minority is monstrous. Training of that sort cannot possibly increase the self-respect of the socially humbler classes; it can only put them in a false position, in which they appear to great disadvantage, and are rendered acutely aware of their inevitable failure to attain to the equality promised them." Mr. Tawney's study, previously cited, contains other examples of this general view

in the footnotes. See also the speech of the Home Secretary, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, in which he remarked that "We are spending a great deal of money on some forms of education which would be much better spent in technical education, and in training boys and girls to fit themselves for really useful occupations." But note *Social Progress and Educational Waste*, by Kenneth Lindsay, London, 1926.

23. "Teaching the Teachers," *New Leader,* June 3, 1927.

24. *Times,* January 7, 1927. See the leader of the same issue on "Teachers and Politics," and a reply to Percy in the *Nation and Athenaeum* of January 15.

25. *Times,* January 28, 1927. The minister, however, in addressing the Conservative Teachers' Association (reported in the *Times* on May 19, 1927), stated that this organization had a legitimate place in urging educational problems and policies on the parties, while Communist and Revolutionary Socialist teachers abused their positions by acting as political agents in their localities. The debates on the Seditious and Blasphemous Teaching to Children Bill (*Times,* March 12, 1927) are interesting in this connection.

26. Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (New York, 1918), p. 241.

CHAPTER IX

THE CITIZEN AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Years ago when I was at Balliol,
Balliol men—and I was one—
Swam together in winter rivers,
Wrestled together under the sun.
And still in the heart of us, Balliol, Balliol,
Loved already, but hardly known,
Welded us each of us into the others:
Called a levy, and chose her own.
—HILAIRE BELLOC, *To the Balliol Men Still in Africa.*

I remember reading somewhere lately that it was confidently anticipated the advent of Rhodes Scholars would transform a provincial university into an imperial one. . . . . As for an imperial university, the idea is ghastly. I figure something like the Imperial Institute filled with Colonials eating pemmican.—MICHAEL FANE, quoted by COMPTON MACKENZIE in *Sinister Street.*

And from my pillow, looking forth by light
Of moon or favouring stars, I could behold
The antechapel where the statue stood
Of Newton with his prism and silent face,
The marble index of a mind for ever
Voyaging through strange seas of Thought,
  alone. . . . .
. . . . I could not print
Ground where the grass had yielded to the steps
Of generations of illustrious men,
Unmoved. I could not always lightly pass
Through the same gateways, sleep where they had slept,
Wake where they waked, range that inclosure old,
That garden of great intellects, undisturbed.
Place also by the side of this dark sense
Of noble feeling, that those spiritual men,
Even the great Newton's own ethereal self,
Seemed humbled in these precincts thence to be
The more endeared.
—WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, *The Prelude.*

I do not hesitate to say that Oxford had even at this time laid the foundation of my liberalism. School pursuits had revealed little; but in the region of philosophy she had initiated if not insured me to the pursuit of truth as the end of study. The splendid integrity of Aristotle, and still more of Butler, conferred upon me an inestimable service. Elsewhere I have not scrupled to speak with severity of myself, but I declare that while in the arms of Oxford, I was possessed through and through with a single-minded and passionate love of truth, with a virgin love of truth, so that although I might be swathed in clouds of prejudice there was something of an eye within, that might gradually pierce them. —W. E. GLADSTONE.

Just as in the early nineteenth century the aristocrat who aimed at the career of a statesman, turned naturally to Oxford or Cambridge, seeking the powerful aids of a First Class in the Schools, and the President's Chair in the Union, so in the twentieth century the would-be Labour statesman will turn there also, more mature in years and experience though he may be. If he be too old himself, he will send his sons, for he is determined that, whatever else the universities are to do, they shall be increasingly democratic in spirit, and having won the heart of the whole community, shall become as accessible to the wage-earning people as they have been to the country gentlemen and the professional classes.—A. E. MANSBRIDGE, *The Older Universities of England.*

The essence of the best academic spirit is a willingness to face facts, to discard cherished theories when fuller evidence no longer makes them tenable, to suspend judgment upon matters upon which certainty is unobtainable, to welcome criticisms and to hear differences of opinion with tolerance. . . . . The family, the school, the trade union or profession, the local town or district are successive stages which reach their fullness and completion in the community, and . . . . while each part of the process of education must be related to its appropriated stage, the goal of all education must be citizenship—that is, the rights and duties of each individual as a member of the community: and the whole process must be the development of the individual in his relation to the community. . . . . Adult Education must not be regarded as a luxury for a few exceptional persons here and there, nor as a thing which concerns only a short span of early manhood, but . . . . is a permanent national necessity, an inseparable aspect of citizenship, and therefore should be universal and lifelong.—ADULT EDUCATION COMMITTEE, *Final Report,* 1919.

There are three university systems in Britain. There are: first, the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge; second, the ancient universities of Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Edinburgh, and Glasgow in Scotland; and finally the new provincial universities in Wales, Bristol, Manchester, Birmingham, London, and other communities, mostly of very recent foundation, a few of their constituent colleges a century old.[1] In England, until recently only a very small proportion of the youth of the country have entered the universities; in Scotland, class distinctions in education being much weaker, the costs of university education being much less, and (lately) the Carnegie grants being available for scholarships, students from all classes have had university education. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge have been predominantly places in which the youth of the governing class have been educated. The sons of less well-to-do members of that class, of country clergymen, for example, have been aided in public school and at the university by scholarship grants; but to most secondary-school students the great cost of these universities has been prohibitive. The newer universities, however, have been filled with students from the middle classes and have even received some working-class students.[2]

We have seen how complicated is the system of organization and control in elementary and secondary education. So it is in the university system. There are curious survivals of early forms of government now without their former significance, such as the election, by the students, of the rector of the university in Scottish universities. Broadly speaking, however, the British universities offer one more example of voluntary association through which groups of citizens govern important areas of the national institutional life. Power resides in the faculties, modified by certain classes of graduates who may vote on some matters, or by the intervention of the state through investigatory commissions or statutory action or granting of money upon conditions. Again, the work of the universities may be affected by gifts of money from individuals or societies who desire certain research undertaken or studies made or lectures given. Finally, one must notice the great complexity of governing systems which the affiliation of many separate and independent colleges in a university for certain common purposes makes inevitable. So complex are such systems, indeed, that it would seem impossible for an outsider to interfere successfully; only those who are thoroughly familiar with the system would appear to be able to administer it. Nevertheless, warnings are constantly being raised by some worried defenders of the independence of Oxford and Cambridge that the acceptance of public grants will inevitably bring state regulation. The historic corporate life of these societies, however, seems to be too powerful in its influence on political leaders to permit such interference to go far. They have been much more under church control, indeed; and that control has been modified only after bitter struggles and much compromise. One concludes, however, that normally the British university will develop a policy that approximates the views of the great majority of its faculty members, although not without some adjustments to the views of graduates or of those who control grants of funds for educational purposes. "First, perhaps, I had better describe the parties in academic politics," advises a Cambridge don. "It is not easy to distinguish them precisely. These are five; and they are called Conservative Liberals, Liberal Conservatives, Non-Placets, Adullamites, and Young Men in a Hurry."[3]

It is natural that the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge should have been most influential in the political life of the country. In the Middle Ages, their colleges, indeed, were founded to provide a stream of educated men for rule in church and state; one recalls, for example, William of Wykeham, Wolsey, Gardiner, Clarendon. By the seventeenth century a period of residence at the universities had become a normal part of the education of the sons of the upper classes, and by the middle of the nineteenth century endowments which originally served to educate poor boys for posts in church and state were supplying scholarships for which the abler boys from the public schools were competing. "The strength of both Universities," says Mr. Mansbridge, "was drawn from the middle and upper classes, as represented by boys from the Public Schools or the more powerful of the town grammar schools." Every Cabinet contained a substantial majority of graduates of these two universities; certain colleges, for example Christ Church at Oxford, could boast of a series of prime ministers; the clergy were recruited there; the House of Lords and the country gentry, the leaders in law and medicine (except for the graduates of the Scottish universities) were Oxford or Cambridge men. The development of secondary-school education, however, with the provision of state scholarships by the central or local governments, has sent a larger group of boys from less well-to-do homes; nevertheless, there are still handicaps which those who have not been at the public schools must surmount, social as well as educational.

The Scottish universities have provided most of the leadership in that country—church, local government, law, medicine, and journalism. Some of these leaders have extended their influence throughout Britain and the empire. For social reasons, in part, the sons of the upper classes have been sent to Oxford and Cambridge even from Scotland and Wales, however, and certain colleges of the older universities have close ties with one of these regions.

The rise of the new universities was marked by a break from the earlier ecclesiastical control over university education, and by the establishment of a wider range of technical courses. In consequence they were early associated with middle-class business and professional families of non-conformist religious affiliations; they lack the residential college features generally; and they have been more hospitable to women students. From them the industries recruit their technicians, and through them boys and girls of limited means who could not afford an Oxford or Cambridge education prepare themselves for professional life, for business, or other activity. But as yet they lack the social prestige which the older universities have possessed in political life. Local patriotism, however, is finding some expression in them; this is exemplified in the gifts of the Wills family to Bristol, for example, or the new Union and Library at Armstrong College, or the place occupied by Manchester or Birmingham universities in the life of the better-to-do and professional classes in those cities. Some of these newer colleges have even reached the point of instituting financial campaigns for endowments and buildings in their regions,[4] and all of them draw upon the financial support of the various county and municipal authorities adjacent to them, as well as upon grants from the central government. Several have some course of study in which there is a particularly strong faculty, which draws students from throughout the empire: the School of Tropical Medicine at Liverpool, or the London School of Economics and Political Science are examples. Until recently, however, Oxford, Cambridge, the Scottish universities, and perhaps University and Kings' Colleges at London far outranked all others in popular prestige, and of these the first two were outstanding.

The studies which bear directly upon the problems of the state in the teaching of the universities are naturally those in the general group of history, political science, economics, and philosophy.[5] To these we must add psychology as a comparatively recent arrival, although the relation of psychology to the study of social institutions is as yet not recognized in much of the study and research at the universities. Nor is anthropology given emphasis in this group, except for specialists. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that these subjects were the only ones, or even by themselves the most important ones in influencing the intellectual outlook of students in such a way as to affect their civic attitudes.

It is rather the tradition of the classics, expressed through Greek and Roman literature and philosophy, with the influence of religious ideas and concepts, which has in the past shaped the outlook of the best men rather than the studies mentioned above.[6] Concretely, it is the Greek conception of politics, of the state in its relation to the citizen, of the obligations of the citizen to the state in the attempt to live the good life, which has contributed so much to political thought in Britain. This has been intensified by the Christian doctrines of the responsibility of the members of a social body to one another. The teachings of T. H. Green were characteristic of this.

At the two older universities changes in the scheme of study have been adopted in recent years. The oldest of the Oxford schools is that of "Literae Humaniores," mainly composed of philosophy, literature, and ancient history. At present one which is taken by more students, however, is the School of Modern History. In 1921 a new school of philosophy, politics, and economics was instituted, whose subject is "the study of the structure, and the philosophical, political, and economic principles of Modern Society." Special attention can be given to any one of these three; the examination requires of all, however, preparation in moral and political philosophy, British political and constitutional history from 1760, British social and economic history from 1760, the history of philosophy since Descartes, political economy, two modern languages, prescribed books in two of the following—metaphysics and moral philosophy, political philosophy and political economy, and such knowledge of the contemporary history of Europe and America as is necessary for the proper study of the British history required.

While at Cambridge the work in the sciences is most famous, there are also popular schools (each entitled there a "Tripos") in the classics, and also in history, in economics, in moral science and in law. The work of the Cambridge historians—among them Maitland and Acton—is, of course, notable, and the Cambridge economists, with such contemporary teachers as Keynes, Robertson, and

Pigou, and among former ones, Alfred Marshall, are influential. Psychology has not been given much emphasis at either institution, although Dr. C. S. Myers, the Director of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology was formerly at Cambridge.

In the newer universities and in Scotland, there are to be found strong departments of history and economics and philosophy. There are few separate posts in political science. In both the Scottish and the modern English universities the teaching is carried on more by lectures than by the tutorial system which prevails in various forms at Oxford and Cambridge. At the University of Wales there is particularly strong work in history and philosophy, and the noteworthy Woodrow Wilson Chair of International Relations, whose occupant spends a part of his year in study and teaching at a foreign university. Too frequently the university teacher in the British system is apt to pass directly from his university career as a student to teaching without any study of other regions, especially the dominions and the United States. Europe is easily available for his vacation trips, and he is often well acquainted at least with France and Italy. It is surprising, however, to find so little information concerning the cultural developments, the social movements, and the contemporary scholarship in other parts of the empire and of the United States. The Kahn Fellowship is an attempt to remedy this in part; an increasing number who secure Commonwealth or Rockefeller Fellowships in the United States will be enabled to pursue their studies there before plunging at once into teaching.[7]

There is relatively little graduate research in political sciences carried on at the two older universities, and but little more at the most of the Scottish and modern English universities.[8] The most important center at present for graduate study is the London School of Economics and Political Science. This school is an outgrowth of the planning and effort of the Webbs, allied with Shaw, Wallas, and other Fabians, and has come to be an important part of the University of London. Most of its students are pursuing an advanced business or commercial course; but there are many graduate students, not only British but also colonial and American, who take advantage of the fact that the facilities of the capital as well as the services of a strong faculty in politics, economics, sociology, and anthropology are at their disposal. In general this group has the reputation of having a more "modern" and "radical" point of view in regard to social questions. The school is also used by the government for advanced courses for army officers, and more recently for officials in other services. Many of the staff have served in government work, or are active in civic organizations.

In the last half-century the continued development of honors courses at the two older universities; the growth of the newer universities, and the high standards of work at the Scottish universities have supplied the nation with a good number of men of ability from which to recruit its university faculties. At Oxford and Cambridge the system of fellowships has in the past enabled many men to continue in the study of their subjects. At present the pressure of finances does not permit as much graduate study or research work as is desired. Nevertheless, it remains true that among the careers of social distinction and of attractive features which lie open to the abler men are those of university teaching and of the civil service, and the universities sometimes recruit for their teaching work from the higher class of civil servants. There are complaints that the faculties tend to become ingrown and somewhat parochial in outlook; but this is a criticism that one finds applied to universities the world over. What is probably more characteristic of all the British universities, with the possible exception of the London School of Economics and Political Science, is the emphasis on the historical and philosophical approach to problems of politics, and the tendency to become unacquainted with newer methods and developments in the social sciences in other parts of the world. The fact that these universities have produced so many distinguished statesmen and writers tends to confirm the view that their methods have been the "sound" ones; while the conduct of extra-mural classes for workers gives them assurance that they are in contact with new social forces in the state. That this new relationship has had some effect on teaching method and outlook is asserted by men who have participated in the Workers' Educational Association classes—for example, Professors Clay and Tawney.

In recent years there has been organized a "Joint University Council for Social Studies," to "co-ordinate and develop the work of the Social Study Departments of the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland."[9] It has already prepared a report on *Social Study and Training at the Universities.* Several universities have special schools of social science, generally with some connections with existing social agencies in the town such as settlement houses. While the courses offered are open to undergraduates or graduates generally, they are specially directed to those who wish to enter the general field of social work and secure some training for administrative posts. A large proportion of their students are paid workers of various social agencies who are desirous of securing a better educational background, since they are not university graduates. It is significant that here again there is a frequent stress upon the advantage of giving to such students a more general philosophical approach to problems of society rather than an emphasis upon the analysis of contemporary problems and the technique of dealing with them.

While the universities are the recruiting ground for the civil, diplomatic, and Indian services, there is a general agreement among educators that runs back at least as far as Dr. Jowett and his contemporaries against providing for special training-courses for public administration. The view is held that the men who do the best work in the general courses of study, or schools, will be the ablest men of their generation in any walk of life. The civil-service examinations, therefore, aim to measure the abilities of the contestants as tried out in these studies—Greek, Latin, history, modern languages, mathematics, etc.—rather than to test special ability of any kind. This has several advantages, the most obvious being that the civil servant shares in the widest life of the university as a student and possesses a general "liberal" education. Such specialized training as is needed (except, of course, for the technicians) is given in the government department, or by special classes (as at the London School of Economics) after induction into the service. The new Institute of Public Administration may develop as a center for further study and even research as time goes on, standing as a professional society and guarding and developing professional standards. Principal Grant Robertson of Birmingham has remarked:

> I would express a strong hope that there will be no attempt at present to bring into the University what may be called a First Degree course of administration, which would mean a premature specialization. . . . . I contend that the whole question of administration in the University is a post-graduate subject in two senses. First, there would be a post-graduate course for a student who has graduated in arts or science, and so will get an opportunity of a year's course of a specialized character on a certain subject. But he will first secure an adequate general education in languages, economics, in science, and in literature, and will then go on to "administration." Secondly, facilities should be offered

by the universities to those who are already in the national or municipal Civil Service, to attend lectures or courses on specific subjects, or branches of administrative work by competent teachers.[10]

We may say, therefore, that the teaching of politics in the British universities has developed "out of Philosophy by History"; that it has been closely integrated with the study of economics; that it has sought to provide a general liberal culture characteristic of Western Europe including Britain; and that it has included the development of the empire and the problems of the empire. It is at present hampered from a lack of funds for graduate research and investigation, and for the provision especially of library materials dealing with other parts of the world. It is fearful, too, of invading the area of "practical" or "applied" studies, nor has it as yet developed close relationships with the more recent work in psychology and the twilight zone that lies between the natural sciences and their methods and social studies.[11] Largely because of the excellence of the personnel both of teaching staff and of student body, it has contributed able men to the civil service, and to politics generally. Here, of course, the social system, the existence of a class possessing relative economic assurance in addition to a sense of responsibility of the obligations of its position, has played a very important part.[12] If the system would seem to be inadequate on the side of acquaintance with other states and regions and their problems, it is not from the conscious bias of the instruction so much as the lack of materials and interest in them. And it does contribute, through its traditional association with a great literature and philosophy, toward the conception of the duties and obligations of the individual to the state, and the recognition of the necessity for free inquiry and speculation concerning social matters within the scope of the existing scheme of values and concepts.

These, we have seen, grow out of long accepted social arrangements; and are strengthened by the code, so characteristic of the public school, of accepting the social system with its leaders, and "playing the game." It is very difficult for the outsider to penetrate this. He may feel, upon occasion, that the "freedom" which the British scholar possesses in the social sciences, for example, rests upon the fact that the existing scheme of things is too powerfully intrenched to be disturbed by academic persons; and it is noticeable that lately a prominent business man (following the year of industrial disputes) has been given space in the *London Times* for an attack upon the economics teaching at Cambridge, based upon his view that it is too pro-Labour. One may surmise that no great harm is done if Oxford and Cambridge men are becoming Labour party candidates, or serving as staff workers for the industrial or political Labour movements; for so much the more quickly is this new power attached to the institutions and attitudes of the older society, and the old institution adjusted to the new challenge peacefully. But on all this it is wiser to let one familiar with the system and a native of the country speak. John A. Hobson, in his *Free Thought in the Social Sciences*[13] is discussing precisely this question of the way in which a given social system inevitably and most subtly affects the attitude and outlook of the teacher.

> In Great Britain . . . . authoritative teaching has been bent into submission to the intellectual requirements of the ruling and owning classes with considerable success. This temporary success is attributable to the subtler and more secret modes of influence that there go to the selection of teachers and the moulding of authoritative doctrines. There is no superficial interference with liberty of teaching, no such proscription of heretical teachers or doctrines as often occurs in America; every teacher and writer feels himself quite free to state whatever he holds to be true. There is even a pharisaical parade of intellectual freedom, a sincere pretence that no teacher would stoop to misrepresent or dissemble, or could fail to detect or reject any bias of sentiment or interest that might assail his virtue. I have already demonstrated the unsubstantial character of this defense, by examples from the history of economic theory, which show how disinterested science can be bent to the service of vested interests or class feeling. But, whereas the cruder interference in America with disinterested science has awakened powerful resentment which has acted as a stimulus to free-thinking, in England the discovery that her authoritative science is less "disinterested" than it seems and claims to be, is only beginning to dawn upon our intellectual world, and the indignant disclaimers of scientists are still accepted as if they were the cool judgments of an impartial tribunal, instead of the self-exculpation of the suspected. The result of this super-subtility and indirectness of the moulding influences has been to make economic science in this country furnish plausible defences for vested interests of property and power, not by the rude expulsion of opposing doctrines, but by a finesse of irrelevant exactitude of reasoning directed to material which is either selected as amenable to this sort of treatment, or is manipulated so as to remove whatever is intractable to it. This mishandling is, of course, far too subtle to arouse popular suspicion, and has attractions that win over many students trained in ab-

stract reasoning. Hence the damage and the danger to free-thought in this, as indeed in other social sciences to which the same intellectual economy applies, are graver here than in America.

Thus the teacher finds himself between the fires of capitalist and economist; while a shrewd French observer records a shift of interest in the universities within the last two decades from imperial to "Labour and semi-intellectual pacifism."

> "We are weary of those maps," they say, "with the British possessions coloured red." Social problems, economic reconstruction and post-war international politics are given far more attention. Doubtless the new conception of the Empire that has developed, especially in the Dominions, has not failed to impress the youth of Britain. Twenty years ago the young men found awaiting them a fascinating field of action in the immense Empire which was then just awakening to the realization of its grandeur. There was a demand for proconsuls to administer entire nations in the name of the Mother Country. . . . . Today the Colonials reject these instructors. . . . . Where in the future will there be a place for the magnificent aristocracy of administrators and politicians that has been turned out by Eton and Harrow, Oxford and Cambridge? . . . . The solid masses at Oxford and Cambridge probably remain as conservative as ever, and many of the rich young men who at present pretend to hold revolutionary sentiments will not remain faithful to them in the future.[14]

One answer to Siegfried's question is the fact that the young men are again entering the civil services at home and overseas. But they are also entering industry and commerce; and while the older universities retain their control in the civil service, they must now share the posts open to university men in private employment with graduates of the newer universities.

There has been little research in problems of government in Britain, either graduate research in the universities, or in semi-public bureaus such as those in the United States. Study and writing is still primarily historical and philosophical rather than based upon scientific analysis of contemporary political problems.[15] Quite apart from the question of attitudes or prejudices which the teaching profession may hold, there is a certain ingrown quality which strengthens the national culture, but also isolates it. A book on political science will be given success by the reviews of three or four men who may be members of the small circle of which the author is a member. The author, indeed, may be merely restating or carrying further the views of his associates. A teacher in the social sciences remarked that "Too many of us do our work by taking in each other's intellectual washing," and he indicated the subtle influence which this process has upon many who seek teaching posts which come in part through the approval of fellow-teachers in the university or college where the appointment is desired. The British critics of academic intolerance display a devotion to the highest standards of traditional freedom of thought against outside interference; but they are, perhaps, less aware of the insidious encroachments of custom and complacency within the academic group. Some of the freshest comment on political problems, indeed, comes from the active participants in politics—civil servants, party workers, journalists; but this is hardly the creation of an influential school through which Great Britain can make new contributions which can be added to those of Germany, France, or the United States, and it is significant that the introduction of governmental research is partly instigated by American experience and funds. It is possible that the contributions of British scholars to political speculation will be newly enriched by this fresh approach; but meantime it is rather to the conduct of practical politics, to the skilful integration of the older governing classes with the new through the parties and voluntary associations, and to the experience of Parliament, local councils, and the civil service, that foreign attention is drawn.

As in the schools, however, there are influences other than studies which are important in university life in shaping civic attitudes. The very life of a university, its relative freedom as compared with the school, the variety of activities from which to select, the playing of a kind of rôle set by predecessors (most clearly shown, for example, in developing a style of debate and discussion in the Union or the undergraduate journals), are an initiation into the larger world which the young graduate will find is run by the same "set." The comment of two foreign observers upon the influence of the universities is pertinent here. William James remarked in his *Talks to Teachers:*

> Professor Jowett when asked what Oxford could do for its students, is said to have replied, "Oxford can teach an English gentleman how to "be" an English gentleman. But, if you ask what it means to "be" an English gentleman, the only reply is in terms of conduct and behavior. An English gentleman is a bundle of specifically qualified re-

actions, a creature who for all the emergencies of life has his behavior marked out for him in advance. Here, as elsewhere, England expects every man to do his duty."

An Italian, Emilio Cecchi, writing in the *London Mercury*, has expressed his impressions of Cambridge.

> Those men absorbed an invulnerable sensation. They were physically in the native substance of their country during their freshest years. . . . . They became "English Gentlemen" for life, as one may become poor, Roman Catholic, or a son of the sea. They were held, for a splendid hour, in a kind of old-time visionary transfiguration, they took part in a "pageant," in a precessional reality. The arms carved on the doors of the colleges, inlaid in the choir stalls, embroidered on the hockey shirts became a moral blazon for those who had no heraldic one; they made them members of one grand brotherhood of nobility. Hence, when they came out into the world, their ancient instinct for balance, their unexpected watchfulness, their confident, lordly and historical patience, their calm dissembled pride; that virtue which, rather than an express and conscious political wisdom, in a sense of resting one's feet on a mighty foundation, and which of itself does not in the least constitute virtue in a moral sense, but is certainly an immeasurable strength. Hence that cautious dignity, which has known how to give the most revolutionary tendencies time and place to vent themselves and has been able, while seeming to favour such tendencies, to turn them away from their real aim; that cautious dignity, which has given a liberal and sometimes radical appearance to what is, in reality, the most conservative of politics, and has even bestowed an air of austerity, a detached and fatal authority on wrong doing, pure and simple.

So much is the society of the older universities a part of the governing society of church and state that the influences of the one upon the other are inextricably intertwined.

While the undergraduate is subject, especially at the older universities, to considerable regimentation in his personal life by the college, he lives amid talk on all sorts of subjects.[16] In some of the universities the election of the rector, as at Glasgow, for example, is an opportunity for a party conflict among undergraduates.[17] All universities have their party clubs, in touch with the central offices of the party at London. Some students "go in" for party activity, and speak for their party candidates if an election occurs near by. The most famous of the undergraduate political institutions, however, is the Union, where debates are held. Those at Oxford and Cambridge have long been regarded as seed beds for future statesmen.[18] Lord Birkenhead remarks in his *Points of View:*

> On many occasions I have been able to pass through Oxford and spend a few hours there. I often go to the Union and spend some minutes in the Victorian Debating-Hall. The room is empty and the place is silent, but yet these walls have listened to nearly all the great masters of rhetoric. . . . . There the portraits hang, row on row, a pictorial constellation of the past and present. . . . . Here are Salisbury, Gladstone, and Asquith standing on their enduring pedestals—Manning and Mandell Creighton, E. T. Cook, York Powell, the Cecils and the Asquiths, the Mowbrays and the Talbots, and on the living roll of fame, Milner and Curzon, Anthony Hope and A. E. W. Mason. Here within a single chamber lies the sifted ability of Oxford.

The presidency is a coveted honor, not without some significance for the future career of its holders. The debates carry on the tradition of English political speaking in the governing class—something of a straining for a score on one's opponent, an effort at wit and repartee that frequently overreaches itself.

There are also the settlements and boys' clubs financed and manned by the colleges. Here the tradition goes back to such pioneers as Arnold Toynbee, Canon Barnett, Milner, and other university men who entered into the social reform movements of the seventies and eighties from a sense of social obligation.[19] New channels are now open for men of similar interests and outlooks, such as the Labour party, for example, but the settlements and clubs continue to recruit some interest. At Oxford Barnett House is a center for those interested in this general field of work, while in the newer universities, such as Bristol, university settlements exist in which students are sometimes resident.

All of the universities have Officers' Training Corps. While there was some slackening of interest in these with the prevailing war-weariness after the war, they are now active and represent in tangible form the sense of obligation of the individual for physical service. During the summer they participate in army maneuvers when in camp. Some men who are active in them in the universities enter the army in this way, but the officer material is chiefly recruited from the schools and service training colleges.

"Architecture," says Sir Christopher Wren, "has its political uses; public buildings being the ornament of a country; it establishes a nation, draws people and commerce; makes the people love their native country, which passion is the original of all great passions in a commonwealth." It is not easy to measure the subtler influences of the buildings, gardens, and streets, of the rivers and countryside, of Oxford and Cambridge upon their students.[20] Something of this must be possessed also by the graduate of Edinburgh, with his memories of that beautiful city; or by those who have spent their college years in the old Castle at Durham. The newer universities are beginning to possess some buildings of architectural distinction, although it must be said that many were unhappily built in the period of the best "railroad gothic." Perhaps their children, however, do capture something of the spirit of civic consciousness and pride which first made them possible. An important part of the civic sense of many members of the influential groups in British life has come from the appreciation of and affection for the old buildings and associations of Oxford and Cambridge. Men occupy rooms which have been used in past decades and centuries by famous men; they dine in dignified halls, with the portraits of the great looking down upon them; famous causes, controversies, quarrels, mark the annals of their colleges; generations of boys have loved their rivers and gardens, their hills and neighboring villages and have written greatly of their love. Those who have not shared this life, sensing something that is missed, invariably seek to have conferences and meetings at these old university towns to taste, even briefly, their beauties and charms. The attachments of the graduate to his college and university and their setting, if often unexpressed, is always strong; it is natural that those who share these attachments form "sets" in the world of affairs in after years.

It is only in recent years that the influence of the universities has been consciously expanded to embrace any formal schemes of adult education. In indirect ways, however, the universities have for a longer time been influential. But it is in other directions that we must seek for the more important earlier influences in this branch of education.[21] The demand for a widening of educational opportunity has only too often in all countries been neglected by university circles; and it was from the lower middle class and indeed from the working-classes that the early movements in adult education arose. It is significant, too, that in England these movements were instigated by evangelical religious motives. Among the earliest were the adult schools.

As early as the last of the eighteenth century a beginning was made by dissenters in instructing adults in the Bible. As a necessary preliminary step, it was obviously desirable that the student should be able to read the Bible. Out of this situation grew the practice, developed more strongly by the Society of Friends, of holding each Sunday a class for adults in which reading and writing were taught. This movement spread, during the nineteenth century, to many non-conformist churches; and gradually, as the men and women of the communities came to be better educated with the spread of elementary education for children, the adult schools developed into Bible classes in which part time was given to a study of some texts and the remainder to the discussion of possible applications of the texts to problems of the work-a-day world. The groups were drawn chiefly from the lower middle and working-classes, so that the adult schools were a very important agency in the spread of discussion of social problems in these sections of the community. Such familiar names as Cadbury[22] and Rowntree are to be found among those active in the movement, and even Joseph Chamberlain was at one time an adult school-teacher. New activities, social, literary, and recreational added to the attractiveness of the program on week days. In 1899 a national union, known as the National Adult School Union,[23] was formed in order to co-ordinate the work of the many schools and provide a central staff for supplying lecturers and publications, and act in general as a clearing-house of the movement's activities. In recent years new impetus has come with the establishment of residential colleges for working-men at Fircroft and for agriculturists at Avoncroft which are in part an outgrowth of the work of the movement, and the influences of the schools are also to be seen in the residential schools centered at Selly Oak, Birmingham. The movement has been especially active in the fostering of better international relations, and it holds every summer an international summer school at which persons active in the schools in Britain meet with men and women from other countries for common study and recreation together. Several guest houses have also been established where members of the school may go. In general, the development of its residential settlement or college program (largely under Quaker leadership) has been influenced by the work of the Danish folk schools, and there is an interesting cultural contact between the two movements. At present, there are about 1,400 adult schools with a total membership of over 50,000.

A movement more widely known abroad is the Workers Educational Association.[24] This has now been in existence for about twenty years. It originated in the desire to bring the opportunities of university tutorial study to workingmen, and has had a group of able teachers from the universities upon its staff throughout its existence.[25] Its standards are high, since the students are required to pledge themselves to three years' study in the subject, regular weekly attendance upon classes, and the doing of serious reading and the writing of essays. A similar organization exists for Scotland. There is a tendency for the classes to contain several teachers, clerks, and other non-manual workers, but every effort is made to reach representative manual workers who desire to do serious study. The W.E.A. is in part financed by grants from the central and local educational authorities, and its classes are carried on in co-operation with similar ventures in some localities by co-operative societies, educational settlements, workingmen's clubs, and other groups.

In recent years classes have been formed for workers partly in opposition to the W.E.A.[26] by those who hold that education for workers should be entirely controlled and financed by them, and conducted with the aim of equipping the members of the groups for more effective participation in the class struggle. In part this grew out of a secession from Ruskin College. This college was founded by two Americans as a residential college at Oxford for workingmen, governed by a committee under the Education Committee of the Trades Union Congress. It has tutors on its staff, and has been a center to which workingmen have gone for study in history, politics, economics, literature, and philosophy. It will be remembered that seven of the members of the party in the House of Commons have studied there, and many others have been in workers' education classes. The secessionists formed a new college now located in London. The new movement, entitled somewhat ambitiously the National Council of Labour Colleges, has many unions upon its list of constituent members and has an imposing list of classes and students. It has difficulty, however, in financing its work and in securing the quality of instruction that the older movement has boasted. At present both movements have entered into an agreement whereby the Trades Union Congress recognizes both.[27] The questions involved are rather delicate; for if the aims of the seceders from the older movement are to be common to the whole movement, it is obvious that the education authorities, central and local, will refuse or be reluctant to allot further grants.

The universities have also undertaken more extension work in the past few years.[28] This takes the form of courses of lectures, single lectures, tutorial classes, or evening courses giving credit similar to that for those given in the daytime and, therefore, taken by some as a means of working for a degree while employed. This latter situation is found most developed, perhaps, at London. In addition to these courses and lectures, they work in close co-operation with such organizations as the W.E.A., while in summer a summer school is held at some university whose object is to reach particularly the extension students who have been taking courses in the winter. Those active in this work in different universities give the impression that it reaches more a middle-class group, whereas the workers' education movement reaches more of the working-classes.[29] Similarly the Y.M.C.A. courses, and informal discussion groups conducted by the local branches, probably reach middle-class groups for the most part. In rural districts especially the most important organization reaching adult women is the Women's Institutes which grew out of a war-time experiment initiated in the dominions.[30] These institutes supply lectures, talks, and social activities for even remote countrysides that would otherwise not be reached by educational efforts. The Co-operative Union co-operates with the W.E.A. in developing tutorial classes among its members, and it also has lectures and correspondence courses.[31] Its general educational program is conducted from Holyoake House in Manchester, where it has a central educational department and maintains advanced classes for co-operators in what is termed a college. Several scholarships are available for students here who are recruited from local co-operative societies, and whose course of study includes a good deal of work on the co-operative movement.

The origins of the settlement movement in England were both religious and educational.[32] Oxford men such as Toynbee and Barnett had come to realize an obligation resting on the person with the advantages of education to share his resources with those sections of the city communities where resources of all kinds were most lacking. They were moved to adopt the unit of the parish for beginning their operations. In placing a settlement, or residential center for university men, in an East End parish and using its members for parish, educational, club, and other kinds of work, they provided a tangible and definite point at which what had formerly been vague aspirations could now be crystallized into concrete efforts for a local community. At the same general period such studies as those of Booth in London and Rowntree in York gave chapter and verse of social and economic conditions among the masses in England. The Quaker employers came to develop programs which included industrial welfare schemes in the factories and model towns for their workers; the settlements aimed at a reform of housing, local government, the opening up of educational opportunities, the provision of more adequate public health standards and administration and recreational facilities. In the last few years new growths from these older movements have been evident. On the one hand the garden city program has been stimulated both by such experiments as Bournville, Letchworth, and Welwyn and the efforts of the London County Council and other local authorities to plan model suburbs as at Becontree; on the other hand there has developed a type of settlement which views itself as strictly educational and not residential.[33] It is less concerned with the reorganization of the local neighborhood life than with providing a center for any educational schemes which existing groups may care to undertake. Among the more well known of these new types are the Bristol Folk House, the Rugby Adult Education Center, the Letchworth Settlement, the Leamington-on-Tyne Educational Settlement, Woodbrooke, and Beechcroft. It is the object of these settlements to form a center for all activities in such fields as W.E.A. classes, university extension, adult schools, dramatics, music, and fine-arts study groups. The ideal at which many adult education enthusiasts now aim is a guildhouse in every local center.

One should note here the efforts of the parties and economic groups to "educate" their members.[34] The initiative came from the Labour party, which has long had study classes, circulating libraries, pamphlet and periodical publications, and similar devices as well as residential summer schools for keeping its rank and file alert in issues of policy. The Liberals have also had several summer schools. Not to be outdone the Conservatives established Philip Stott College, a residential college for men and women members, especially those from the working-class. These stay for two weeks at a time and attend lectures daily on political and economic questions, have discussions, recreation, and a general program characteristic of all such ventures. By a system of scholarships local Conservative organizations can send those otherwise too poor to attend.

The Board of Education now has an advisory committee on adult education, and special inspectors to deal with classes receiving grants. There is a British Institute of Adult Education which serves as a central informational office on adult education. There is also a World Association for Adult Education with offices in London which is an informational center for adult education the world over. At the 1925 conference of the British Institute at Balliol College H. J. Laski attempted to estimate the quantity of adult education being seriously attempted. He remarked:

> The W.E.A. for example, reports that 26,874 students were taking part in three year and one year classes and study circles. Adding thereto those who come to its short courses of lectures, I take their figures of 50,000 workers as the population influenced by them. . . . . The University Extension movement is responsible, approximately, for 13,000 students. The 1,395 schools in the Adult School movement have 55,799 members. In the 712 centers of the Y.M.C.A. there are 89,371 members. In the 3,329 Womens Institutes there are 204,400 members. In figures like these we attain some definiteness. Let us add that much educational work is done by the Co-operative Union, the Plebs League, the Church Tutorial classes and similar associations. . . . . I think it is a fair estimate to say that there are not more than half a million people over the age of eighteen doing non-vocational work of some kind or other; of these only 60,000 do work of the standard of a one year class.

He estimated, in continuing, that about £75,000 would cover all public contributions to the work, that certain areas were as yet untouched, and that the adolescents are reached very little. He pointed out, also, that well over one-half the students in W.E.A. classes are non-manual workers.[35]

A serious problem in English education at present is the fact that so many boys and girls are leaving school at the age of fourteen, but remaining unemployed for an indefinite period during the industrial depression.[36] The education authorities in some areas, as in London, are attempting to interest this group in a varied program at evening institutes; yet it is fair to say that the adolescent is less fitted into the scheme of education after leaving school at fourteen than any other group. Most adult education enterprises are recruited from older people.

This discussion of the general educational system and the citizen is inadequate if it does not make clear that the ethical motives which influenced the creation of a general school system for children have more recently been behind the wider development of adult education. The new ideal is that all citizens should study together, at whatever age, those subjects which interest them and seem to them of importance. The "way out," in one phrase, is by education; and education is conceived not as a ladder but as a highway along which all should be able to pass.

In two ways this development and conduct of adult education has significance for the student of civic attitude. On the one hand it illustrates the power and influence of a moral and social attitude on the part of men and women making for a sharing of educational and recreational opportunities throughout the community across ordinary class lines. It illustrates, especially as seen in the settlement movement and the adult school movement, the dual influences of the university teachings and of evangelical Christianity, leading those of favored classes to recognize their obligations to the community to share their advantages with those lacking them. On the other hand the actual instruction and the administration of these movements aid in broadening the outlook and interests of many of the more able and ambitious members of the working and middle classes. Inevitably the serious study of political and economic questions by small groups under the conditions described, the growing practice of using summer conferences, week-ends, and holidays for recreation and discussion and study serves to make more statesmanship available to the community.

Nor are the international ties to be neglected. Several groups travel on the Continent, and hold sessions in European states; delegates from European states attend the sessions in Great Britain and present new outlooks and attitudes. A free discussion by a group of men and women who have been enjoying the hospitality of some old college or country house serves to strengthen civic attachments and stimulate new efforts in the solution of perplexing problems. One cannot acquaint himself concerning the texts and materials used in the classes, too, without being impressed with the fact that they represent a more liberal attitude toward civic questions, especially international relations. It is true that these groups may be used to strengthen party or class interests and points of view; but it is also true that the more numerous of the classes are not sectional in a narrow sense, and the National Adult School Union, which represents perhaps the most influential of these movements, partly by reason of its development in relation to the Society of Friends, has thrown its weight decidedly in the direction of international understanding and peace, while from the W.E.A. classes with their system of university tutorial instruction similar tendencies may be observed. Finally, it is significant that the movement grows in part through the aid extended by the state through the Board of Education and through the local authorities, as well as aid from the universities. Here again we find older institutions being adapted to new uses, through the impetus of what is an ethical influence stimulated by the churches originally and more recently by the universities. In the large, and with the exceptions noted, it represents an attempt to strike across the divisions of class and section toward a more objective consideration of civic problems.

The universities have been so exclusively the preserve of the governing class and middle class, they have maintained so firmly their freedom from state control, that there has been very little of the discussion concerning the teaching of citizenship in the schools applied to them. Their problems in this are much more difficult and intricate, from one point of view, being inherent in the system of government whereby freedom from outside interference is considerable if not complete. What many of their friends have feared is a kind of intellectual inbreeding, and a lack of acquaintance with and sympathy for other peoples and other methods, the more so because of the distinguished reputation which the older universities have had for centuries and the younger ones are acquiring. The adult education movements, on the other hand, have come down into the very center of contemporary social controversies, and bear the stains of combat. There the attacks which have been made by Labour extremists upon the schools are drained off in a separate "class-conscious" form of workers' education; while Conservatives, in turn, can find haven in the Philip Stott College. Between these are the varied efforts of hundreds of voluntary groups to find a larger citizenship through study or recreation. For the mass of people, however, after the age of fourteen is reached, further education comes through the press, the cinema, and now the radio.

NOTES

1. There is a good popular account of the older universities in *The Older Universities of England,* by A. E. Mansbridge. The *Report of the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities,* 1922, is invaluable. I know of no comprehensive study of the newer universities, or of the Scottish universities. Much may be learned of them, however, from a study of the *Reports of the Annual Conferences of the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland,* while Miss Wodehouse in her *History of Education* gives a brief account of them. The annual publications of each one should be consulted on details of curriculum, examinations, etc. *University Reform in London,* by T. L. Humberstone (London, 1926), is a useful study of the problems of a university in the capital. For the

special field of the social studies, see the publications of the Joint University Council for Social Studies (P. S. King & Son, Westminster), and *The Equipment of the Social Worker,* by Elizabeth Macadam (London, 1925). There is a brief sketch of the London School of Economics by Graham Wallas in the *Handbook,* published by the Students' Union (1925), pp. 11 *et seq.*

2. See *The Poor Student and the University,* by G. S. M. Ellis, a publication of the Sir Richard Stapley Educational Trust (London, 1925); Mansbridge, *op. cit.,* chaps. x, xi; Royal Commission Report cited in note 1, chap. iii. See also note 22, chap. viii.

3. F. M. Cornford, *Microcosmographia Academica: Being a Guide for the Young Academic Politician,* Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1923.

4. During the autumn of 1925, for example, there were popular appeals for endowment and other funds for several of the newer universities. See the *Royal Cornwall Gazette and County News* for September 23, 1925, for the appeal for the University College of the Southwest at Exeter, voiced by Lord Fortescue for the Council; the appeal for Leeds University (the *Times,* October 24) expressed at a public meeting on October 24, by the Duke of York, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Dean of York, Mr. Philip Snowden, and Lord Hartington (whose father, the Duke of Devonshire, was Chancellor of the University); and the Centenary Appeal of University College, London (Patron, Prince Arthur of Connaught; Vice-Patron, Viscount Chelmsford; Chairman, Lord Meston), the *Times,* October 29, 1925. The story of the Carnegie gifts to Scottish university education is told in Lord Shaw's *Letters to Isabel.*

5. The university work in the social sciences may be studied in a superficial way by means of the various official publications of the universities in which the courses and requirements are set forth. For example, see the *University of Oxford Examination Statutes,* pp. 147 *et seq.,* for the "Honour School of Philosophy, Politics, and Economics" and p. 316 for the "Diploma in Economics and Political Science"; University of Liverpool, *Prospectus of Courses;* University of Edinburgh, *Calendar;* etc. See also note 15.

6. Some aspects of the teaching in the social sciences at Oxford may be gleaned from *Sidney Ball, Memories and Impressions of "An Ideal Don,"* by O. H. Ball (Oxford, 1923), and from the two articles on Oxford by S. E. Morison, former holder of the Harmsworth Chair of American History there, published in the *Spectator,* November 7 and 14, 1925. Nor should one neglect such novels (already referred to in the discussion of the public schools) as *Sonia, Sinister Street,* or *David Blaize of King's,* or Ivor Brown's *Years of Plenty.* In Morley's *Life of Gladstone* are many references to the influence of the Oxford teaching upon the statesman, and Mr. Wells, in a series of footnotes in his *Outline of History* had an exchange of opinions with Mr. Ernest Barker on the value of the system for future service of state. I regret that I have been unable to find any comparable material on the life of the undergraduate in the newer universities. Lord Cockburn and Lord Shaw, among others, have given us delightful memoirs of student days at Edinburgh, as has Barrie in *An Edinburgh Eleven.* Mr. Wells has given us something of London university student life in *Tono Bungay* and *Christina Alberta's Father.* Perhaps a future Bennett will portray the development of a student at Manchester, Leeds, or Birmingham; it may have been done already, in fact; it would tell us much more than the bare catalogues of courses do.

7. On this see Professor Morison's article cited in note 6: "Travelling fellowships are wanted so that colleges can afford to send their candidates for tutorships abroad for two or three years, and to require evidence of ability to do research, before they appoint."

8. There is a professorship of political science at Oxford; one has just been established at Cambridge, through a grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller

Foundation of New York. The same foundation has also given considerable sums to the London School of Economics. See note 15.

9. See note 1 for references to this.

10. The *Report of the Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland,* 1923, pp. 27 *et seq.,* should be consulted for a discussion of universities and training for administration. See also the articles in the *Journal of the Institute for Public Administration,* Vol. IV, No. 4 (September, 1926), by Professor Adams of Oxford and Principal Grant Robertson of Birmingham University on this subject. Lord Haldane's evidence before the Royal Commission on the Coal Industry, cited in a previous chapter, is a valuable description of the co-operation of the London School of Economics and Political Science with the War Department in training officers for staff duties. Note, too, the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service,* 1914, *Fourth Report,* Second Appendix, Questions 22,247–36,550 for extensive data on university training for public service.

11. I was interested to find that several Oxford teachers of social studies were inclined to view the work at the London School of Economics as "applied," and, therefore, not suited to a liberal course for undergraduates. It is true that several graduate students at the London School regret that so much of the time of the staff is devoted to the great number of students taking commercial courses in preparation for higher business posts. Many of these students take the evening courses, and are employed in business houses during the day. Some of the newer universities have been fearful of incurring the reproach of over-commercialization, and in their social studies seem to lean over backward in stressing medieval historical backgrounds rather than contemporary problems; others frankly seek to attract the interest and support of local magnates by establishing courses whose object is to train men and women for business positions.

12. With the increase in the number of men and women possessing university training, the partial closing of opportunities in the Civil Service and Indian and other governmental services after the war, and the general economic depression and curtailment of some social services, there has come a severe competition for teaching posts in the universities and higher schools. Many young men have gone to the United States and the dominions.

13. Pages 272–73 (New York, 1926).

14. *Post-War Britain,* p. 229.

15. See the inaugural lecture *On the Study of Politics* by H. J. Laski, professor of political science at the London School of Economics and Political Science (Oxford University Press, 1926). Professor Laski states his adherence to the historical school of political science, and especially the study of political theory, although acknowledging the importance of the study of administration and of contemporary political institutions. His lecture gives a brief appraisal of the state of the study of political science in Great Britain; he notes the paucity of chairs in the subject, the lack of an organization of political scientists and of a journal for their writings.

16. Note the quotations from foreign observers of Oxford life given in Mansbridge, pp. 249 *et seq.* (Boston, 1923).

17. I was at Glasgow when the election of the rector was being held in the autumn of 1925. The Liberal, Conservative, and Labour party clubs actively engaged in campaigning through speeches, party pamphlets, canvassing, and ultimately physical combat. There is an amusing account of an Edinburgh election in Sir William Osler's Life by Harvey Cushing, II, 129–44.

18. There is a most interesting and useful history, *The Oxford Union,* 1823–1923, by a former president, H. A. Morrah. The participation in union activities by subsequently influential statesmen is evidence of the influence of Oxford on

the governing class in England. Doubtless this would be approached if not parallelled by a similar account of the Cambridge union. See also Mansbridge, p. 228, on the influence of the older universities in political life.

19. There is a good general account of these influences in the earlier chapters of *The Settlement Horizon,* by Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy. See also *Canon Barnett* (Boston, 1919). I was informed that the discussion groups of the Student Christian Movement at the present time have some influence.

20. See Mansbridge, chap. xv. The descriptive writings on the antiquities and beauties of Oxford and Cambridge are legion. The influence of the colleges and towns, their beauty, their associations, and life generally are recorded in the memoirs and novels to which I have already referred. Best of all, perhaps, as a means of recapturing this affection of the student for his college, are passages in Arnold's *Scholar Gypsy,* or Belloc's *To the Balliol Men Still in Africa,* or for the countryside of Cambridge, Rupert Brooks's *Grantchester,* or Wordsworth's verses on King's College Chapel.

21. There is a good general survey of the development of adult education in the *Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction,* 1918. The publications of the British Institute of Adult Education, including their *Handbook,* and of the World Association for Adult Education, especially the *Bulletins* of the latter, should be consulted. See also *The Way Out,* edited by the Honorable Oliver Stanley (Oxford University Press, 1923); *The Guildhouse,* a report issued by the institute already mentioned; and the *Report of the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities,* pp. 120–31, 159–64, discussed in Mansbridge, *The Older Universities of England. The Equipment of the Workers,* by a Sheffield settlement group (London, 1919), contains valuable information on working-class educational interests. The Institute has established a half-yearly review entitled *The Journal of Adult Education* which reports current developments in the field. Reference may well be made also to Dr. Basil A. Yeaxlee's *Spiritual Values in Adult Education* (Oxford University Press, 1925).

22. See *The Life of George Cadbury,* by A. G. Gardiner (Cassell & Co., London), and *Joshua Rowntree,* by S. E. Robson (London, 1916).

23. See the publications and journals of this organization (30 Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C. 1). Of especial value is *The Adult School Movement,* by G. Currie Martin, published by the Union in 1924, and containing a history of the movement with a description of its present activities and interests. *One and All* is the journal of the Union. A great many pamphlets and books on politics, economics, literature, and religion and philosophy are published by the Union for use in the classes. Among these are new translations of books of the Old and New Testaments, lecture and study outlines in international relations, study guides for various famous authors, etc.

24. *An Adventure in Working Class Education,* by A. E. Mansbridge (London, 1920); *The Story of the Workers' Education Association,* by T. W. Price (London, 1924); *Workers' Education in Great Britain,* by Margaret Hodgkin (New York and London, 1925).

25. See, for example, *Economics for the General Reader,* by Professor Henry Clay; *The Acquisitive Society,* by Professor R. H. Tawney; and *Nationality and Government,* by Professor A. E. Zimmern for points of view that have been influenced by tutorial class work in the W.E.A. Some of these texts grew out of W.E.A. classes.

26. This point of view is set forth in *Working-Class Education,* by J. F. and Winifred Horrabin, active in the work of the Labour colleges. This booklet was published in 1924 (Labour Publishing Company). Since then there has been

an effort to reconcile the interests of these two wings through a Committee of the Trades Union Congress. The offer of a country house by the Countess of Warwick for purposes of a labour college was rejected by the Congress in 1926, presumably on grounds of cost of financing such a college, although the enmity of the "Labour College" groups may have had some effect upon the decision. See the discussion entitled "Cross-Roads in Adult Education," the *New Statesman,* August 29, 1925, and the letters in reply in the following issues.

27. Some bitterness is generated from the continued attacks of the National Council of Labour Colleges upon the W.E.A. as an organization whose efforts are viewed favorably by employers and conservatives generally and in receipt of funds from the "capitalist state." The General Secretary of the National Council wrote recently in the *New Leader* that "The struggle between the W.E.A. and the N.C.L.C. is as vital to the workers as the struggle between Liberalism and Labour, and has its roots in precisely the same economic circumstances." The W.E.A., on the other hand is attacked by some conservatives as being an agency for the forwarding of Bolshevik ideas. Thus, one alderman on a local education authority stated that "Adult schools are nothing but dens of Bolshevism." (See the *Daily Herald,* August 17, 1925.) Undoubtedly the position of the W.E.A. is at present a difficult one; it is equally certain that its work is much more important from the point of view of quality of scholarship, seriousness of sustained effort, and ability of instructors.

28. See the references to the *Report of Adult Education Committee* and the *Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities* in note 1. The universities and university colleges publish bulletins or leaflets describing the opportunities afforded to adults in extra-mural instruction.

29. Even in the W.E.A. classes, however, one finds clerks, teachers, and others who are not manual or skilled workers, and I gathered the impression in several parts of the country that there was no general interest among the trades unionists in these classes. A small group supplied the nucleus; these did admirable work.

30. See *The Development of Adult Education for Women* cited in note 1 for the various forms of adult education among the women. I have discussed this also in the chapter on women's activities.

31. See the *Educational Programme,* issued each year by the Co-operative Union Limited Educational Department, Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester. Here are listed the various adult, week-end, and summer schools maintained by the movement, the correspondence courses offered, and the curriculum of the college at the headquarters. There are also descriptions of the organizations for young people, the choirs and orchestras, plays, lectures, and guilds.

32. See *The Settlement Horizon,* by Woods and Kennedy; and the life of Canon Barnett, by his wife, cited in note 19 of this chapter. *English Social Movements,* by Robert A. Woods, contains a useful contemporary description of the settlement idea in its early days (Boston, 1890). One should consult the publications of the Federation of Residential Settlements (Toynbee Hall, 28 Commercial Street, E. 1) and of the Educational Settlements Association (17, Spurriergate, York, and 30 Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C. 1). The existing settlements are described briefly in the *Handbook of Settlements of Great Britain.* The Educational Settlements Association publishes a journal called the *Common Room* which should be consulted for current developments in this field.

33. See *The Guildhouse,* a report prepared for the British Institute of Adult Education. Interesting proposals have been made by H. Morris, Secretary of Education, Cambridgeshire, for rural "colleges" and centers of adult

education, and at Rugby the Percival Guildhouse has been opened recently, provided in part as a memorial of Dr. Percival by old Rugbeians.

34. The party headquarters of the three parties publish announcements of the summer schools maintained by the parties.

35. There has been a great development of summer conferences and schools in recent years. This is partly due to the advantages secured by colleges in meeting in this way the expense of the college staffs during the long vacations, partly to the genuine enthusiasm of many people over the possibilities of extending educational opportunities in this way to men and women who have not had such opportunities in earlier life, or who may desire to continue their education in such groups that are often drawn from different classes. The sessions of the party schools are reported in the party journals—e.g., see the *New Leader* for reports of the I.L.P. summer schools, etc.

36. See, for example, *Unemployment Among Boys,* by Eager and Secretan (London, 1925), for a study of this situation among the boys in the East End of London. This study is an example of research conducted through the residential settlements.

CHAPTER X

THE CITIZEN AND NEWS

The printing press absorbs the duties of the Sovereign, the priest, the Parliament. It controls, it educates, it discusses.—BENJAMIN DISRAELI, *Coningsby*.

British traditions, breeding, ideals, character, good taste and sentiment are finer and better than those of any other nation.—MR. REGINALD WILSON, General Secretary of the British Empire Union, in the course of a protest to the Home Secretary against American films. The *Times,* November 9, 1926.

Dickon gave me a little vignette of Northcliffe and himself sitting in a room in Crewe House, a fine town-house of the old régime that had been requisitioned for propaganda headquarters against the Austrians and Germans, an easy spacious town-house with a garden of its own up behind Shepherd's Market in the heart of the West-end, full of eighteenth-century dignity and eighteenth-century furniture. "They talk of revolutions," Northcliffe had remarked in that soft, whispering voice of his. "Our being here *is* a revolution."—William Clissold, quoted by Mr. H. G. WELLS in his novel entitled *The World of William Clissold.*

The late Lord Rothschild once showed me a communication from a foreign Government for which he was floating a loan in this country, asking him what sum of money would be required for the English Press. In order to guide him the foreign Government enclosed a list of sums disbursed to the European Press. I cannot charge my memory with the details, but they were very large sums, and his correspondents took it for granted that the British Press would need to be paid on at least the same scale if not a higher one. It gave Lord Rothschild great satisfaction, as he told me, to be able to reply that if he presented himself at any reputable English newspaper office with such a proposal, he would be fortunate if nothing more happened to him than to be shown the door. Without being pharisaical, we may at least claim that the British Press is above suspicion in this respect. In nearly forty years I have never heard a whisper of this kind of corruption, and the same, I think, may be said about the American Press.—J. A. SPENDER, *The Public Life.*

"The world that we have to deal with politically," says Walter Lippman,[1] "is out of reach, out of sight, out of mind. It has to be explored, reported, and imagined. Man is no Aristotelian god contemplating all existence in one glance." Yet the doctrine upon which representative government rests includes the idea that citizens shall have ultimate political authority. They shall appraise, that is, situations at home and abroad concerning which their information is scanty, and with an intellectual equipment all too inadequate. Clearly, the people who supply the "pictures of the world," in Mr. Lippman's phrase, through newspapers, journals of opinion, moving-pictures, and the radio hold key positions in modern life. That these persons so frequently look upon themselves as business men is at once a safety device and a tragedy for a democracy. If they thought themselves called to be the interpreters of world-events and the formulators of a wise policy, we should indeed be lost; but there are losses on the other side, too.

The changes which have taken place in British journalism in the past few decades only reflect the more fundamental social changes. Bagehot knew of the existence of the vast number of people of limited education and capacity; he invited his readers of the period to step into their kitchens if they doubted the existence of them. But he could ignore them so far as any political importance was concerned; and so, too, the great political journals ignored them. That is not true today; and the Englishman who continues to congratulate himself upon the high standards of political journalism in his country generally has in mind the papers which dominated the field a half-century ago. He ignores the fact that while these older journals are read in the governing classes, a new journalism has come into existence which has created new classes of newspaper readers.

Yet we must all confess that at the present time the amount of objective knowledge which we possess concerning the relationship between journalism and public opinion is very little. There are numerous volumes of speculation and special pleading—those, for example, of Upton Sinclair and Norman Angell—which one would not ignore. There are memoirs of editors and news reporters; the single and initial statement of the problem so brilliantly and suggestively made by Walter Lippman; the studies of advertising by various American educational or commercial agencies that, one surmises, will some day help us in attacking this other side of journalism. For the rest, all is subjective and personal. Even less have we invaded the new realm of the moving-pictures as agencies through which public opinion may be created or influenced. And the radio, which has suddenly flung into politics the extraordinarily puzzling problem of the "control of the air," leaves us hopelessly bewildered. Thus, in these crucial aspects of adult education and popular government, the scientist and scholar have hitherto failed us. "Until quite recently, for example," says Lippman of America, "political science was taught in our colleges as if newspapers did not exist." One would amend this for Britain: what political science was taught, one would be tempted to say, was to the only class for which newspapers existed.

In his book entitled *The Public Life,*[2] J. A. Spender, the distinguished journalist, has remarked:

> Thirty years ago the newspapers were predominantly political and owned a steady allegiance to one or the other of the two great parties. With few exceptions they were the servants and not the masters of the politicians and did their bidding without thought of any interest of their own which might conflict with it. In these days circulation becomes an object which must not be subordinated to the interests of any party or political leader, and the largest circulations develop an opportunist politics of their own which cuts across the schemes of all parties. Their allegiances and their loyalties are quite temporary, and the politician who claims their support is liable to a swift reminder that the newspaper has more important things to think about than his interests or the advancement of his career. Add to this that at all times a very few individuals have the power of deciding how much politics the millions of their readers shall have, and in what form they shall have it, and we are bound to conclude that the essential lines of communication between the public men and the public are very precarious and uncertain. What the great circulations say about politics in their leading articles may be comparatively unimportant, but their power of regulating the quantity and the quality, and of imparting bias and prejudice, is undoubtedly of great importance.

The older British journalism, as Spender points out, was greatly concerned with public affairs from the point of view of various political groups. One reads in the memoirs of those who participated in this profession some fifty or sixty years ago that journalism offered a career of distinction and dignity. The more important editors viewed themselves as shaping opinion; and in a country of strong class and caste ties, where power was possessed chiefly by the upper middle and aristocratic classes, the press of the time undoubtedly served as an influential agency of government. Young men coming up from the universities with the recommendation of a brilliant course behind them, and ambitious to secure power in the world of civic affairs, such men for example as Courtney, Harcourt, Morley, Cecil (later Lord Salisbury), could find a ready market for their knowledge and ability as young Pendennis (without so brilliant a university record) had done a generation before them. Even news reporters such as Russell or Blowitz were a power in themselves; and the pages of the newspapers were filled with discussions of public affairs.

Many say that it was the work of Stead that changed this; undoubtedly the entrance of Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe) into the field of journalism gave an impetus to the emphasizing of news that would excite and interest the average man, who was judged to be bored with too much politics. The technique of printing and distribution enabled the new journalists to secure wide circulation within a short period of time after going to press; the stimulation of advertising added financial resources and in turn was furthered by the larger circulation; the development of the modern newspaper was rapid. The next and most recent stage was the amalgamation of newspapers into great controlling companies whose primary purpose is the making of profits. The tradition of political influence has lingered, but gradually the reading public has come to understand the essentially commercial function of the newspapers of vast circulation and to discount at least the editorial campaigns and "stunts" in which they indulge. The reporting of events, however, gives to these press combinations the power of selecting for the citizen what pictures of the world he shall have; and a combined drive of a number of papers such as took place over the famous "Zinovief" letter in 1924 may have an enormous influence. Similarly, it has been claimed that it was the press which was most influential in determining the attitude of the British delegation at the Peace Conference at Versailles on the subject of reparations. When the local borough elections took place in the autumn of 1925, however, and the press revived the "Red Scare" stories for the defeat of Labour candidates, the public had evidently wearied or grown cynical for there was a marked gain for the Labour party.[3] One gains the impression that it is through the provision of a wealth of other news interests than politics that the chief influence of the press is to be found on ordinary occasions; for after all, ardent party followers will normally read the paper which reflects their own views, and the indifferent citizen will normally be affected by none.[4] He will, however, in Great Britain be greatly interested in the sporting and betting news, or in the scandal stories which are common to journalism the world over. What influence the great dailies possess, therefore, is probably to be found in the selection of news rather than their editorial appeals.

Spender says:

> The popular newspaper while acting on the theory that the whole of its activities are branches of commerce, is unable to resist the temptation of presenting itself as an independent oracle and guide. Its tone is not less but rather more oracular than that of the old newspapers which frankly supposed themselves to be oracles. It retains all the airs of the morality which it has discarded; it preaches, asserts and lays down the law in a manner which has more of dogma and less of argument and persuasion than any previously used in the Press. It has also developed a remarkable skill in using its news columns for a subtle propaganda by suggestion. The readers of the modern popular newspaper may frequently be heard saying that they hate its politics and pay no attention to its leading article, but they cannot help being affected by its headlines, its catch-phrases, its presentation of the news, the stress which it lays on some things, the veil which it draws over others.

The great newspaper and magazine combinations, which still continue, have made it possible for a small number of individuals to possess a controlling power in British journalism. These combinations have included in recent years the Allied Publications, Limited (the "Berry family" group); the Rothermere group, including the *Daily Mail* with its huge circulation; the Beaverbrook group, including the *Daily Express;* and among smaller combinations, the Cadbury press, the Rowntree press, Lord Riddell's press, the Oldham's Press Limited, and the Astor ownership of the *Times* and the *Observer*.[5] The circulation of the daily and weekly publications of the combinations far overshadows that of the more famous independent journals. Furthermore, this process of combination has extended into the field of weekly journals. The above-mentioned groups control many weeklies, while William Harrison and his associates of the Inveresk Paper Company have now acquired the *Illustrated London News*, *Sketch*, *Sphere*, *Tatler*, *Bystander*, *Eve*, *Graphic*, and other illustrated and specialist journals. Again, it must be remembered that the London papers can reach the entire British Isles in the day of publication, and consequently tend to dominate all of British journalism.[6] Even the provincial papers, through their daily London letter from their Fleet Street staffs, are greatly affected by the atmosphere of London journalism. For purposes of more effective distribution some of the London dailies publish in a northern city as well as London. Confronted with such competition, the daily papers of the provincial cities appear, with very few exceptions, parochial in tone and interests, and their rising staff members are quickly taken by alert London editors in search of talent.

A certain number of newspapers of independence continue to exist. Among these one would include the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Morning Post*, the *Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Herald*, and the *Yorkshire Post*. The *Manchester Guardian* has remained faithful to Liberal doctrines, expanding their connotations with changing institutions. The *Daily Herald* has suffered many trials, financial and political, in its effort to secure a general circulation as a labor daily.[7] It must be admitted that its news services are hardly adequate to its task of supplying the members of the movement with sufficient accurate information concerning events either at home or abroad, and in its effort to build up circulation, it has followed the dailies of great popularity with its sporting and betting news, snippets of stories, and similar devices. It is, however, the newspaper which is most critical of "nationalistic" policies of any party in power which would seem to threaten peaceful relations. The *Times* and *Telegraph* are notable for their news reporting, especially, as compared with the other London papers, of foreign news; while the *Morning Post*, well written, strongly nationalist, and imperialist, scenting Red plots at every hand, critical of Labour, a defender of a strong naval and military program, skeptical of the League of Nations, inclined to support dictatorships from the right throughout Europe, is the organ of the extreme Conservatives. With the *Times* it is perhaps the best printed and illustrated of the dailies.

It is significant that the new press lords, with the exception of the Astors and the Duke of Northumberland, are essentially interested in the commercial aspects of journalism.[8] At this point an interesting feature of public attitude which one encounters is this: among educated classes there is a general belief that British journalism is typified by the *Times*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Observer*, and similar "high class" journals, and these are spoken of as the "influential papers." That was doubtless true at one time; but what is overlooked is that a newspaper which has vast circulation and is read, and thus supplies millions of citizens with a picture of their environment upon which they act and react, may actually be more influential than a more carefully edited paper of limited circulation. Many, for example, point to the Hearst papers as representative of American journalism, and compare them unfavorably with the *Times* as representative of their own. But with the decline in power of a limited aristocracy the group who read the *Times* and *Morning Post* must govern through their support by people who read the *Daily Mail* and *News of the World.*

The new press lords, therefore, are concerned with circulation and advertising, and through these only with national policy. When they attempt to limit their interests to a cause or civic affair and color their journals in support of that interest, they necessarily influence the masses of people who are not concerned with causes but rather with betting tips or a murder trial. This is not to argue that they are void of any particular points of view in regard to public policy; but rather that in urging such views, their channel will be that of news stories that must be made vivid and interesting to their readers.

It is in such stories that national attitudes may at once be found reflected and also stimulated by the big dailies. There is a playing up of public economy, and the costs to the taxpayer both of reluctance by European states to pay their debts to Britain, and of American insistence upon payment. There is strong criticism of American films as portraying a national life that is more degraded and vulgar than that of the British; less criticism of the German films, since they are relatively few in number, and sentiment is for the most part sympathetic with Germany and critical of France, although the *Daily Mail* is an exception here. There is a general stimulation of the purchase of British and imperial products. There is a steady flow of news about royalty and high society. In general political discussions are but briefly reported, and only the more dramatic events in Parliament are stressed. A campaign, however, is reported and discussed largely in terms of personalities or lurid implications, as in the famous campaign of 1924 in which the great dailies constantly preached the doctrine of the subordination of the British Labour leaders to Moscow, or played upon the gift to MacDonald of a motor car by a friend whom he had recommended for "Honours." A sampling of local newspapers of much more limited circulation in various parts of England—the press, for example, of

Bristol and Plymouth, of Liverpool, of Edinburgh and Glasgow, of Newcastle and of Leeds—reveals little news of the world outside Great Britain. One is informed by journalists and officials of news-gathering agencies that, as compared with the United States, for example, the British press uses much less foreign cabled news. While a few famous papers (of less circulation) have distinguished foreign correspondents, and publish daily interpreted news accounts from the world's capitals, the more popular papers either publish no foreign news or only the more sensational matters in brief stories. News gathering abroad is under the control of commercial organizations, such as Reuter's, which have reciprocal relations with news-gathering organizations in other countries.[9] There is presumably no conscious coloring of the news, which is transmitted in compressed, abbreviated form by cable and delivered to the various journals which purchase the service after it has been rewritten at London.

The weekly journals of opinion are an important element in British journalism.[10] Those of greatest circulation are generally most "British." During the war it was *John Bull* which sold more widely than the *Nation;* and today most of the weeklies of the "intellectuals"—the *Nation and Athenæum*, the *New Statesman*, the *Spectator*, the *Saturday Review*, the *New Leader*—have circulations that rarely exceed a few thousand. The *Nation*, the *New Statesman* and the *New Leader* are the most frequent critics of national foreign policy, although the *Nation* has been less strident since the period when it was edited by Massingham. These journals circulate among a fairly influential class of literary, political, and professional people; but they hardly possess the power of influencing the masses of the more popular weeklies such as *Answers* or *John Bull.* The *Observer* remains an outstanding journal under Garvin, a man of independent Conservative views, and through its excellent special articles and its book, music, and drama reviews secures the patronage of the more educated; but except for the Sunday *Times*, the other Sunday papers are very sensational. The older leaders of journalism have departed with the exception of Scott and Garvin, and the new ones, concealed behind the more institutional position of the combinations or great proprietors are little known to the public. In the sense that the papers of great circulation play up only those aspects of policy which can be made dramatic, personal, and garish, the influence of the contemporary press can be said to be flamboyantly "nationalistic"; while their selection of news permits the citizen to have but little information concerning the world outside Britain or the empire. On the other hand, the provision of news does not follow a definite political or civic purpose for the most part, and is an incident in the conduct of a gigantic business which incidentally has civic implications—and hence peerages.

Within the past few decades a greater interest in imperial communications has arisen.[11] It has been seen that an important item in imperial unity is the supply of news, so that the emigrant to Canada or South Africa can follow the Celtics or Clydesides in the football season, or his wife can read about the gown worn by the Princess Mary at the christening. An Empire Press Union has been organized to serve the common interests of imperial newspapers, and pressure for cheaper cable, postage, and radio rates is exerted. There is much regret, for example, at the influence of American newspapers and magazines in Canada; and direct cable news services for the Canadian Press Association has been provided, so that it will not be dependent upon the Associated Press of the United States. The Empire Press Union has organized imperial trips for journalists, also. Reuter's is the great news service distribution agency for the empire.

A new agency for the dissemination of news and information is the organized broadcasting by wireless telephony which has developed greatly in a short time.[12] There are at least about 2,000,000 licensed users of receiving sets in Great Britain. This industry was under the control of a single public corporation, the British Broadcasting Company, supported by a revenue secured through the licensing of receiving-sets, and organized by representatives of the concerns producing radio equipment. It has been taken over by the British Broadcasting Commission, a subordinate public commission with the Postmaster General as Parliamentary spokesman. The members of this commission are appointed by the government. It was formerly a policy of the Commission to avoid the use of broadcasting for purposes of political, industrial, or religious controversy; but this "ban" has been lifted. During the General Strike of 1926, the system became an important item in supplying news to the public. The Commission is attempting to utilize the educational possibilities of the system through its programs of lectures and music. At present speeches in Parliament are not broadcast, and there is much opposition to this idea; but in General Elections equal opportunities have been afforded the party leaders for restricted use of this means of reaching the voters. The Broadcasting Committee of 1925 in its report touched in a general way upon the problem of controversial matter when it remarked:

> We are unable to lay down a precise line of policy or to assess the degree to which argument can be safely transmitted. In the absence of authoritative evidence such advice would be premature. But, speaking generally, we believe that if the material be of high quality, not too lengthy or insistent, and distributed with scrupulous fairness, licensees will desire a moderate amount of controversy.

The Commission has already experimented with the relaying of programs supplied by stations in other states, and, therefore, there is a possibility of employing this new instrument for wider international cultural relationships. But as yet the field is unexplored, and how far the radio will either serve as a means of strengthening national attitudes or of supplying a wider international acquaintance and knowledge of the interests and culture of other countries it is impossible to predict, although some persons have already issued warnings against the speeches and information which the Soviet government broadcasts from Russian territory.

Perhaps the most strongly marked national attitude that one finds in Great Britain today is the concern expressed at the situation in the moving-picture or cinema business. In the past few years the enormous development of the industry in the United States, both in the production and the distribution of films, has extended to Great Britain where American firms have secured the control of or have constructed many theaters; and because of the great supply of films under their control coupled with their control of theaters, they are able to dominate the British field. Over 80 per cent of the films shown in Great Britain are American films. The big pictures cost so much to produce that they must have a very large public to make them profitable. Such a public exists in the United States, while the British producer, lacking as large a market at home, finds himself excluded from American bookings so great is the supply of pictures made in America. British production has, therefore, been relatively small, while the American producer, having met his costs in the home market, can send over films for additional profits at less charges than the British producer's costs. It is interesting to see how widely this situation is resented by the press, publicists, and educators.[13] The German films do not cause so much resentment, partly because they are relatively few in number and, therefore, not a strong source of competition, and partly because they do not constitute so important a cultural influence. Educators assert that the American films supply their school children not only with slang phrases, but distorted morals; business men assert that they serve to stimulate a taste for American styles; and on many sides there is the complaint that they represent the Englishman as a polished villain and laud the American. In the Far East the result, it has been asserted, of showing American films is to depreciate the white race as a whole in the eyes of the yellow races, so continual is the stream of films portraying violence, depravity, and crime. This situation naturally affects the British most because of their traditional influence in China and India.

In Malaya, Aldous Huxley in his *Jesting Pilate* writes:

> We found an open-air picture show. A crowd . . . . stood or squatted in front of an illuminated screen, across which there came and went, in an epileptic silence, the human fishes of a cinema drama. And what a drama! We arrived in time to see a man in what the lady novelists call a "faultless evening dress," smashing a door with an axe, shooting several other men and then embracing against her will a distressed female, also in evening dress. . . . . The violent imbecilities of the story flickered in silence against the background of the equatorial night. In silence the Javanese looked on. What were they thinking? What were their private comments on this exhibition of Western civilization? I wondered. In North Africa, in India, I have also wondered. . . . . It is from the films alone that the untaught and untraveled member of a subject race can learn about the superior civilization which has conquered and is ruling him. . . . . And what does he learn from the films? What is this famous civilization of the white men which Hollywood reveals? These are questions which one is almost ashamed to answer . . . . a world of crooks and half wits, morons, and sharpers. A crude, immature, childish world. . . . . White men complain that the attitude of the members of the coloured races is not so respectful as it was. Can one be astonished? . . . . As we turned, disgusted with the idiotic spectacle, and threaded our way out of the crowd, that strange aquarium silence of the Javanese was broken by a languid snigger of derision. Nothing more. Just a little laugh. A word or two of mocking comment in Malay and then, once more, the silence as of fish. A few years more of Hollywood's propaganda and perhaps we shall not get out of an Oriental crowd quite so easily.

The British Educational Films, Ltd. has arranged with some educational authorities (including the London County Council) for the showing of films of "subjects for visual education." They have produced certain films of the war, notably "Armageddon," "Zeebruge," "Ypres," and "Mons." Concerning a film of the "Battle of the Falkland Islands," they state, "This screen record of the greatest naval epic of modern times is being produced with the co-operation of the British Admiralty, under the auspices of the Navy League and with the assistance of the Federation of British Industries."[14]

One concludes any examination of the influence of the various channels through which the citizen obtains his news and ideas of the world with a sense of much frustration. There is no objective measurement which one may apply to the press, for example. When one has described the various tendencies and groups, and noted the correlation of large circulations with the more exciting and sensational treatment of news and the playing up of national interests, there is still left unanswered the question as to whether the press is a cause or an effect. Nor have we begun to explore the meaning of the movie or the radio as agencies of propaganda. There is some evidence supplied us by a few isolated experiments that a picture is a more effective argument than a written discussion; what is its relative weight as against an address or appeal that is broadcast? One returns to one significant recent development: the concentration of ownership of daily and weekly newspapers and illustrated journals in the hands of from ten to twenty individuals, who are mostly recruited from a class outside the older aristocracy, yet constitute within themselves a new one of wealth, power, and, at times, close relationship with men high in the councils of the older party groups. This new aristocracy has achieved titles with its wealth and power; it is almost entirely allied with the general interests of the Conservative party, strongly committed to the idea of developing the empire and furthering the oversea settlement of what is viewed as a surplus population at home, of maintaining a strong navy, and of preventing the transfer of political and industrial power to the trade unions and the Labour party. It supplies its mass of readers with a steady flow of news of sport, accidents, scandals, the more dramatic and sensational aspects (with strong class and party bias) of political or industrial struggles, and with the doings of royalty and high society. Yet the governing classes have, on the other hand, several journals, daily and weekly, which maintain a high standard of news reporting and critical discussion. In journalism the *status quo*, the existing system of economic, political, and social values would seem to be strongly intrenched; and a part of that system, in Britain as in the other great states of the world, is the acceptance of the ultimate and absolute continuance of the national state. In Great Britain, however, the national system has a further prestige as the origin and center of a world-empire, world-finance, and as mother of parliaments.

NOTES

1. *Public Opinion* (New York, 1922), p. 29. The best discussion of "public opinion" in politics and the relation of the press to political life. See also *The Newspaper and the Historian,* by Lucy M. Salmon (New York, 1923).

2. J. A. Spender's *The Public Life* contains a useful discussion of the general tendencies in British journalism during the past few decades. It may be supplemented usefully by biographical studies of Delane, Morley, Cook, Stead, Glenesk, Northcliffe, and Sir Arthur Pearson; by Nevinson's *Chances and Changes;* a volume of essays on and by H. J. Massingham entitled *H. J. M.;* A. G. Gardiner's life of George Cadbury; J. St. Loe Strachey's *River of Life* and *The Adventure of Living;* W. H. Mills's study of the *Manchester Guardian;* Symon's *The Press and Its Story;* Lansbury's *The Miracle of Fleet Street;* Angell's *The Press and the Organization of Society;* and the Report of the Labour Research Department on *The Press.* In the "British Empire" series is a volume by Mills entitled *The Press and Communications of the Empire,* and Sir Philip Gibbs has a novel entitled *The Street of Adventure* which describes the life of the newspaper world. There are several character sketches of such men as Lord Burnham, Lord Northcliffe, Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Rothermere, and other press leaders in E. T. Raymond's *Uncensored Celebrities* and *Portraits of the Nineties* and A. G. Gardiner's *Prophets, Priests and Kings* and *Portraits and Portents.* The *Europa Yearbook* for 1926 contains an account of recent amalgamations among the great holding companies. The *Living Age* has frequently republished useful articles on British journalism. Mr. Kennedy Jones, in his *Fleet Street and Downing Street,* has discussed the relations of the new journalism to politics. The New York City Public Library has published a useful bibliography of journalism in which most of the books and articles relating to British journalism will be found listed.

3. More recent "scares" and "stunts" seem to have overreached themselves. Thus Mr. Oswald Mosley was returned at Smethwick in December, 1926, as a Labour member, despite the vituperation of many newspapers, and the *Manchester Guardian* suggested that the increased Labour majority was due in part to the nature of the newspaper opposition.

4. Mr. Kennedy Jones has remarked that among the items which sell a paper war comes first, then a state funeral.

5. *Europa Yearbook* (1926), p. 405. See also the news report in the *Christian Science Monitor* for December 13, 1926, on "Press Combines in Great Britain," in which the protests of the British Institute of Journalists against the tendency noted above are quoted.

6. On this see Symon's *The Press and Its Story.*

7. See George Lansbury, *The Miracle of Fleet Street.*

8. During the period in which a Coalition government was in power there were, however, over forty peerages or other high distinctions awarded the more

powerful press proprietors or journalists. Arnold Bennett has portrayed the atmosphere of the time in his *Lord Raingo.* See also Rose Macauley's *Potterism* and Stephen McKenna's *Saviours of Society.*

9. A suggestive article on newsgathering has been written by Herbert Bailey and was reprinted from the *Westminster Gazette* of September 27, 1921, by the *Living Age,* CCCII, 548. It is entitled "British Newspapers and Foreign Propaganda." Bailey pointed out the difficulty of obtaining news in many countries free from government coloring. In the *Outlook* (London) for October 29, and November 5 and 12, 1927, several letters from Brigadier Crozier and others on the alleged censorship by Coalition newspapers of the news concerning the action of the "Black and Tans" in Ireland during the Coalition ministry were published.

10. There are many separate interests with a journalism of their own, notably the religious organizations, many of the churches supporting several weekly, monthly, and quarterly journals representing different factions. Many of these journals are influential and important; the *Guardian,* the *Church Times,* the *British Weekly,* etc.

11. See Mills' *The Press and Communications of the Empire.*

12. See *The Report of the Broadcasting Committee,* 1925. The *Times* of November 16, 1926, reported the debate in the Commons on the new plan for government control of broadcasting. An interesting discussion of the policy of refusing controversial matter is presented by Mr. Julian Huxley in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* for December 24, 1926. He was involved in criticism for attempting to mention the policy of birth-control in a broadcast address. See also the *Observer* for January 8, 1928, on "Broadcasting and Controversy."

13. See, for example, the series of articles on the "Film Industry" by Mr. Robert Nichols which were published in the *Times* beginning August 27, 1925, with an editorial of that date. The *Christian Science Monitor* of November 9, 1926, reports the protest of patriotic societies against American films.

14. "The Schools and War Films," the *New Leader,* June 10, 1927. See also "The Films through Children's Eyes," published by the London *Daily News,* and the *Report on the Cinema of the National Council of Public Morals* for views on the cinema.

CHAPTER XI

THE CITIZEN AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

When I have been upon the 'Change, I have often fancied one of our old Kings standing in person, where he is represented in Effigy, and looking down upon the wealthy Concourse of People with which that Place is every Day filled. In this case, how would he be surprised to hear all the languages of Europe spoken in this little spot of his former Dominions, and to see so many private Men, who in his Time would have been the Vassals of some powerful Baron, Negotiating like Princes for greater Sums of Money than were formerly to be met with in the Royal Treasury! Trade, without enlarging the British Territories, has given us a kind of additional Empire: It has multiplied the Number of the Rich, made our Landed Estates infinitely more Valuable than they were formerly, and added to them an Accession of other Estates as Valuable as the Lands themselves.

There is no place in the Town which I so much love to frequent as the Royal Exchange. It gives me a secret satisfaction, and, in some measure, gratifies my vanity, as I am an Englishman, to see so rich an Assembly of Country-men and Foreigners consulting on the private Business of Mankind, and making this Metropolis a kind of Emporium for the whole Earth. I must confess I look upon High-Change to be a great Council, in which all considerable Nations have their Representatives. Factors in the Trading World are what Ambassadors are in the Politick World; they negotiate affairs, conclude Treaties, and maintain a good Correspondence between those wealthy Societies of Men that are divided from one another by Seas and Oceans, or live on the different Extremities of a Continent.—JOSEPH ADDISON, *The Spectator.*

There has probably very rarely ever been so happy a position as that of a London private banker; and never perhaps a happier.—WALTER BAGEHOT, *Lombard Street.*

There is nothing Utopian in my vision of the England of to-morrow; I am not one of those confident and optimistic people who imagine that once Labour comes into power all will be well with the world; nevertheless, I do foresee a far happier England than any historian has yet been in a position to describe.—J. H. THOMAS, *When Labour Rules.*

Why should mankind continue to quarrel? Why do they not forget their mutual injuries, and by pardoning each other's faults, allow material civilization once more to continue its progress? This idea is absolutely in accord with their personal interests, but the people of Manchester preach it with such religious zeal that in the end they forget the excellent materialistic reasons for which they adopted it, and they flatter themselves that they are inspired solely by the pure love of humanity. It is due to these profound and obscure psychological traits that there has sprung up to the mutual benefit of both parties that mutual alliance that exists between the missionary and the cotton exporter. . . . . The policy which hopes to maintain London as the commercial centre of the world is logically completed by the policy which aims at making her also the international financial centre. . . . . Thanks to a perfect financial equipment, together with an infinitely developed commercial structure, London was before the war the world's greatest market for capital, and this position the British are now anxious to conserve or regain.—André Siegfried, *Post-War Britain.*

In sketching this prospect, we start with the assumption that the present international and domestic situation of English capitalism will not only not improve but—on the contrary—will grow worse and worse. If this prognosis should turn out to be wrong, if the English bourgeoisie should succeed in strengthening the Empire, in giving back to it its former position in the world market, in reviving industry, giving work to the unemployed, raising wages, the political evolution would of course have a different character; the aristocratic conservatism of the trade unions would again be strengthened, the Labour Party would go downhill, its right wing would be fortified, and the latter would move closer to Liberalism, which in turn would experience a certain accession of living forces.—Leon Trotsky, *Whither England.*

It is this class, critical, educated, intellectually alive, with a full practice of the technique of combination and politics, that heads the Red Clyde. The somewhat irrational link that Victorian social theory and development forged to tie this skilled class to the labourer, the beast of burden, is not the only reason for the skilled man's passionate championship of the other's cause. It may have been Marx and Pity, strange couple, that led the skilled workman to fight for the unskilled artisan before the war. To-day, the misery that overwhelms the labourer has lapped above the knees of the skilled artisan himself. . . . . When he goes home to his gaslit home, to his meal of tea and margarine, he remembers the war-time, and soldier's quarters and food, as heaven to this; when he turns into his verminous bed, under the same sacks as his wife and children, he may well lie awake and ponder. And the only hope that he will keep quiet, is that he should not think, even to ask the last impertinent terrible question, "Why go on living?"—William Bolitho, *Cancer of Empire.*

There are students and practitioners of the art and science of politics to whom a study of the national state and of citizenship begins and ends with economic factors. Conquests are made or defeats sustained, elections won or lost, for cash values received or dissipated. Institutions are a mesh through which economic interests are sifted. Yet this view at once explains everything and nothing. "Man does not live by bread alone, but principally by catchwords," wrote Stevenson. It explains everything: the business of getting enough to live on or of supplying one's wants is a sufficiently engrossing task in any society. It explains nothing: for every man and woman must set about that business in a society organized about and influenced by elaborate institutional systems, codes, standards, tastes, and personalities. The least respect, however, which we can pay to our colleagues who cry "look for the economic motive" is to indicate as concretely as we can the points at which the interest of economic groups touches the mechanism of the national state in Britain.

For the state today affects the making and distribution of wealth profoundly. It creates a system of property and inheritance; it takes wealth through taxes and customs, it gives it through services, pensions, insurance payments, salaries; it favors certain industries or classes at the expense of others through regulations or subsidies, and fixes new planes of competition; it may throw the whole conduct of trade into hopeless confusion by a failure to maintain a stable currency system, enlarge the national economic system by securing new areas, bring on crisis by war.

No modern state holds to the doctrines of laissez faire: those doctrines, indeed, require an antecedent state system to supply a guaranty of the property rights that are not to be invaded by regulation! The vast range of activities which state action affects in Great Britain centers the interest of numerous economic organizations upon national political life.[1] The system of government brings this interest to a focus in Parliament, and within Parliament, in the Cabinet. Yet it would be a mistake to leave the question there. For the voluntary and semi-voluntary economic organizations of exporters and importers, employers and employees, bankers and shippers, supply another series of civic institutions through which citizens are drawn into the task of governing their country. There will be a constant passing from activity in political circles to economic organizations, and back again. The city will "be in close touch with Whitehall," or Lancashire with Downing Street; and it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the chancellor of the Exchequer is a spokesman of the party, or the official representative of a section of opinion in the city; or a Labour member, a representative of a group of citizens in a constituency or the negotiator for a craft. But for all this interchange it is possible for many men and women to live lives of active citizenship and rarely, if ever, enter party circles or hold public office. As officials in commercial, industrial, or farming associations or trade unions, they may help to keep the social system of Britain running as smoothly as possible. And who shall say that the provision of cheap raw materials or lucrative markets, or the negotiation of a higher standard of living, is less important than somnolence or party maneuvering in the House?

Climate, sea, and land have supplied the means whereby the British economy has been built up. A British economist, lecturing in an American college, began his discussion by stating that he came from a new country; for Britain, he pointed out, is a creation of the last hundred years. The Napoleonic Wars enabled the new industry to become strong while the Continent was in a turmoil with invasions and counter-invasions. The wealth accumulated in the century before from the riches of India and the trade with America, and the labor released from a countryside that was undergoing an agricultural revolution were at hand; the vast coal deposits replaced the forests of the South in the iron industry. A banking community in the City of London stood ready to rival and surpass the medieval bankers of Amsterdam or Antwerp. Jenks[2] writes:

> Thus England tended to become a mechanism of interacting parts habituated to a high rate of activity and the transmission of a great surplus of energy abroad. A pauperized fifth of the population had been put to work; untilled land had been brought under the plough; new instruments of production dotted the land in the form of steam engines and machines. A nation had adapted itself to production for market under individual contract, expressed in pecuniary terms. And its pecuniary relations were grouped about London as a magnetic pole. Great Britain had learned in war to produce a surplus. She had in doing so not only developed new processes, new instruments, new economic relations; she had released new motives, the aspirations of thousands of individuals who had glimpsed a path to personal achievement and social elevation.[3]

For the past century, a steady flow of investment overseas of the surplus wealth of Britain has been maintained, a flow which the Napoleonic Wars stimulated, and the World War interrupted. In Europe, America, and the Far East railroads were built; docks and warehouses constructed in Africa; steamship lines established in every sea; and everywhere the new industry, with its subtle accompaniments of motives and mores penetrated. Who prospered in Britain from this permeation? The great banking-houses; the section of well-to-do persons who not only invested but reinvested the interest of their investments; and the new industrial and shipping classes, the former gaining new sources of cheap raw materials, and new markets for their textiles and other manufactured goods, the latter securing the vast carrying trade that was developed.

One class particularly stood to lose. The farmers and the people whose support came from the land could find cold comfort in the development of the rich areas of Canada and the Western United States and Argentine; for it was to the interest of the manufacturing, commercial, and shipping magnates to create in Britain a gigantic factory to which materials could be brought freely, made up, and carried as finished or semi-finished goods to a more backward world. This would require cheap food; it would be aided, it appeared, by low wages; and in the struggle between land and industry, recorded so romantically in the novels of Benjamin Disraeli, the Repeal of the Corn Laws marked the victory of the latter.[4] By 1880 the victory was complete; but it soon appeared that other states had now developed or would shortly develop industries of their own; tariff barriers were erected against British competition. The new agricultural communities of the British colonies, too, were desirous of good markets for their products. There arose, from most varied sources, a new policy of commercial imperialism of which Joseph Chamberlain was to become the spokesman. Protection for the British Isles, to which the old squires had clung as a remedy for their distresses, was dropped out of hand by the new Tories. The new protection was to be imperial—a special market for British manufacturers in the colonies, a special market for colonial produce in Great Britain.

But the proposal proved premature. The British empire considered as a political entity is one thing: the economic empire, quite another. Income on British investments in the railroads of the American Northwest could be paid in wheat for British tables and cotton for British spindles; the varied wealth of China or the Near East, the timber of the Baltic, came to British ports in British ships without political sovereignty to bless it. And while the trade with the colonies reckoned on a per capita basis seemed impressive, in absolute terms it fell far below the totals of British trade with other states. All this the manufacturers and shippers realized; so, too, the city and its network of banking-houses and insurance companies throughout the world found loans or risks in the Balkans or South America, in Egypt or Hungary as lucrative as in Manitoba or Cape Town. Nor were these groups without political instruments. Mississippi or Florida might have queer notions concerning the responsibilities of their governments toward foreign bondholders, and the United States might possess a constitutional system so extraordinary that nothing, it seemed, could be done about it: but Egypt was a different matter, since its khedive was amenable to the suggestions of a mere consul general who happened to be a Baring. Dominions themselves were not exempt from problems: no one seemed to be able to untangle the intricacies of Canadian railroad finance. But there was a certain directness in selling coal to Italy or France, or cloth to China. Suddenly to disrupt this delicate system by a complete rearrangement of emphasis and connections would affect adversely groups in finance, industry, shipping, coal, and commerce; and the Liberal party regained office upon the issue after the lean years of the Boer war.

An intricate series of economic relationships which was only mildly affected by the late Victorian flare of imperialism has been profoundly shaken by the World War. Consequently British economic groups are the more concerned with national politics. War in Europe not only cut down the exporters' markets and investors' income, but a depreciated currency in the European states after the war enabled certain of them, whose manufacturing equipment had not been too seriously crippled, to secure markets formerly supplied by Great Britain. The United States was now a more serious competitor in foreign trade, and even more in international finance. The carrying trade of the world, after a brief spurt, no longer called for new shipping from the yards of the Clyde and the Tyne. Revolution in China jeopardized investments and reduced the market for textiles; while the rise of manufacture of cloth in the Far East was another blow to Lancashire. In the series of conferences held in Europe in the past nine years, British economic experts have pressed constantly for pacification, the reopening of the channels of trade, the breaking down of economic bulwarks between states to the advantage of the British manufacturer and business man. Despite these efforts, Britain has today a larger population to support than before the war, with a burden of unemployment to carry.[5] What attitudes are displayed, and objectives sought, by the groups which rose to power during the past century? How far do they seek to utilize the national state in securing their ends?

Nowhere was British national feeling displayed more clearly than in the world of finance. The London money market was not merely a center for world-wide financing of public and private loan transactions, but a cornerstone of British commerce as well. The policy of Free Trade and absence of commercial restriction allied to the availability of long-established banking-houses brought to London the marketing and warehousing of a disproportionate share of the world's goods. This was threatened if the British pound were to become unstable: especially so in view of the position of the American dollar. Despite the criticism of a section of industry and of certain economists the policy of restoring the Gold Standard was followed; the terms of the debt owed to America were agreed upon; and the budget was balanced. British financial stability, consequently, was announced to the world. When other European powers were still staggering from the financial shocks of war and reconstruction, Britain was at the old stand, ready to do business, and resuming the interrupted export of investments abroad.

Nor was the national pride in this exploit confined to the city and the treasury; the press has taken good care to expound the superior financial strength and morality of Britain, so that through editorial and cartoon the reader of even the most popular journals shares a vicarious moral glow at his achievement. The average citizen may not appreciate fully the vital importance of this situation to the continued prosperity of British finance so much as he regards these policies as evidence of a higher standard of national morality. Nor is this weakened in his mind by the failure of the Italians and the French to come up to British standards in dealing with the United States over their war debts. He views himself, and footnotes his view with frequent cartoons, as generously exempting continental states from a large portion of their obligations to him, while he meets the exacting claims of "Uncle Shylock." Nor has he forgotten that the United States is a region in which British loans were once repudiated. Thus a substantial economic interest, articulated through a community which has developed its own *esprit de corps* and corporate values and codes, is enabled, through its affiliations in Parliament and the press, to sublimate its advantageous policy. "I am perfectly clear," announced Sir Hugh Bell at a great Mansion House gathering of business men on July 26, 1921, "that it is in the interests of the world at large—not only of Great Britain, not only the British Empire, but in the world at large—that London should continue to occupy that preponderating position in the financial government of the world."[6] Professor Siegfried remarks:

> The part due to pride and the part due to carefully thought out self-interest, are easily distinguished in Britain's deflation policy. It was pride that induced her to contemplate, not without a certain sense of satisfaction, the level maintained by her wealth and her pretensions in comparison with the general state of ruin that existed in Europe. The value of the pound when compared with the Continental currencies also furthered her self-assurance. But at the same time a profound instinct arising from the experience of a century warned her that, just as a large and powerful ship will run aground in shallow water, so Britain's prosperity would suffer unless it were borne upon the rising tide of international wealth.

But there is meager comfort in meeting obligations you owe on the one hand, and paring down those owed you, on the other, if the actual financial advantages of the policy accrue to a small number of persons. It is pleasant to have "the pound look the dollar in the face" in the City of London; but a mile east of Mansion House there are dockers out of work. The governor of the Bank of England may determine policies of world-finance on more than equal footing with French and German ministers of finance; in the streets of Mayfair unemployed men will sing under your window for a penny. Back of the national satisfaction at the maintenance of the financial tradition and position lies the worry and depression over the situation in manufacture and export. Is Britain overpopulated? Must she permanently decline as a manufacturing center and accept a lowered standard of life and reduced population? Will the continuance of unemployment increase strains that already exist in the relations between classes to a breaking-point? These questions are anxiously debated; and a constant search for ways out serves to regiment civic organizations of various kinds in a common enterprise.

So profoundly stirred, indeed, has the business world been by the state of British trade that the traditional policy of Free Trade has been again debated. Here again it would be a mistake to assign to economic motives solely certain fresh attitudes. Something remained from the Chamberlain agitation of the earlier part of the century; something was contributed by the spontaneous rallying of the overseas empire to the British cause in the World War; and something, too, is attributable to the interest in new territories assigned under mandate from the League of Nations. There is an impressive new imperialism voiced not alone by a wing of the Conservative party, and the older official groups, but also by those who see the settlement and development of the vast vacant spaces by people unemployed at home, and hail the existence of a League or Commonwealth of autonomous communities peopled by Britons. Here, they say, are our sources of raw materials of every kind; here are the people who buy our manufactured goods; but here, also, quite apart from these material considerations, is a cultural and spiritual expansion of the British people in their own lands and under their own institutions.

Consequently there has been a great increase in the efforts of these advocates to popularize the empire. British, dominion, and colonial governments have established departments and offices to assist in marketing empire goods; the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley was a gigantic "show window of the Empire"; and proposals have been debated at imperial conferences that would implement an extensive imperial fiscal policy. Nevertheless the growing economic nationalism of the various parts of the empire stands in the way of some of these plans; the fact that the empire does not consume nearly one-half of the British exports is prejudicial to them; and it would be a rash assertion to claim that the masses of British people are really deeply affected or interested in these appeals. One must be very patriotic to buy South African grapefruit if one does not know how to eat it. The great industrialists and financiers realize that the bulk of British markets remain outside the empire, and that from without, also, substantial supplies of meat, wheat, cotton, and metals must still be purchased. The establishment of a more narrowly protective policy for Britain, apart from imperial programs, means, too, the possibility of affecting food costs. Confronted with the threat of so profound a reorientation of the national system, the citizens, in 1923, defeated the Conservative government. Free Trade, battered, indeed, by the war and reconstruction regulations, was upheld. But the effort to direct a flow of investment into the empire continues. Behind it are manufacturers seeking supplies of cheap raw materials; shipping companies—lines out of Liverpool to West Africa, out of London and Southampton to South Africa and the Far East; out of Glasgow to Canada. Each new vessel means at once an added tie with the overseas ports, a new resource in war time, an earner of income from the carrying trade. But the larger empire of commerce, finance, and manufacture, with its shipping allies, scans the world for new areas in which British investment may build up a demand for British equipment and British shipping lines. This larger empire, too, has its political demands. These demands are for order and pacification, almost at any cost. If the new Baltic states are unstable, British support and advice may be useful in reviving the trade of Hull, Newcastle, and Leith. A royal visit of the Prince of Wales to South America will remind the new nations there of British contributions to their development. The doctrines of Soviet Russia, however unpalatable to the "die-hards" of the clubs or the drawing-rooms, will be overlooked if British rails and British textiles may be exchanged for the oil of Batum. Loans to central European states and municipalities, or for irrigation in the Sudan, or electrification schemes for Palestine may help bring about the hoped-for revival. For a century, there was slowly built up a magnificent instrument of finance, insurance, sales, transport, with its headquarters in London, its agents in every corner of the world; for a century the mills of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, and a hundred other towns and cities drew their raw stuffs from every continent and sent it back in goods which British salesmen sold; and for a century ships which had brought these raw materials to Britain, took to many ports the rich coal of Cardiff, or cotton cloth, or rails, or engines. The traditions of these houses and services remain; their personnel remains; their experience and knowledge of the craft; and their long association with the officials, at home and abroad, with whom they have co-operated. It will not be easy to scrap this British achievement for the uncertain risks of an imperial program.

These, then, are the problems and considerations which draw into conference, or split into conflicting parties, the officials of the Department of Overseas Trade, the Federation of British Industries, the Empire Development Union. The regimentation of British industry through voluntary associations is complete; official lists published by the government record thousands.[7]

Even the Labour party, drawn, as we have seen, into the complexities of problems of maintaining this delicate position of empire, have come to realize, through their leaders, the national stake in foreign markets. Here their policy of pacification has contributed much, as Bright and Cobden, in their time, were harbingers of the great commercial expansion despite the sneers of the "backwoodsmen." So, too, notwithstanding their die-hard critics, the members of the Labour government were no mere doctrinaires in foreign and colonial policy, and the Dawes Plan marked another great step toward the revival of Europe and the demobilization of the war alignments.

Thus the conflicts over the restoration of the gold standard, the war-debt settlements, the negotiation of commercial treaties, the development of an imperial or a British fiscal system, the maintenance of order and peace throughout the world, acute though they may become, only bind the stronger the interests of economic groups to the Foreign Office, the Board of Trade, the Colonial Office, the Treasury, and to national political life generally. The city pages or columns in the *Times*, the *Telegraph*, the *Observer* with their quotations and reports of board meetings are scanned as anxiously at Whitehall as in suburbia: the *Manchester Guardian* records the rainfall in the Carolinas or the Sudan, or comments upon the progress of the Chinese revolution as areas from which the community draws its very life. Strikes in Bavaria or riots in the streets of Cairo affect the dividends of a British bondholder; a poor budget in Rumania or in Brazil is noted in the city; the completion of a narrow-gauge track in the West African highlands means more motor ships for Glasgow yards and more dividends for Liverpool shipowners. This is sufficiently puzzling; but how shall one appraise its political effect? It means, on the one hand, a powerful pacifism of a "satiated state"; a necessity for peace, for the removal of nationalistic tariff boundaries, of unfriendly commercial restrictions, among the powerful states. But it may mean, too, the pressure for control in those areas which Lippman has called "the stakes of diplomacy," areas of rich undeveloped resources and weak governments. There investment flows, as to China or Irak or the Sudan. There a handful of British administrators and traders and missionaries maintain little garrisons of British culture; there the material achievement—docks, transport, sanitation, order—is palpable; yet there, since other western states desire these things too, and since the natives are not always appreciative, are the international explosives. Thus the ships of the Great Powers assemble in Chinese waters, and the disputes of minute Balkan communities cause agitations in the chancelleries of Europe, and stocks to fall in the London market. It is the latter barometer which the business community watches most anxiously.

The biographer of Charles Macara, one of its leaders, writes:

> The International Cotton Federation enjoyed a considerable social prestige. It was received everywhere. Charles Macara and the members of the International Committee talked business not only with Ministers of State, but in all the palaces of Europe—with King Edward at Windsor; with the German Emperor on board his yacht in Kiel Harbour; with the Emperor of Austria at Vienna; with the King of Italy at Rome; with the King of the Belgians in Brussels; with the President of the Provisional Government of Portugal in Lisbon; with the King of Spain in Madrid; with the Queen of the Netherlands at the Royal Palace of Loo; and with Presidents Loubet, Fallières, and Poincaré, at the Élysée, Paris; with the Khedive of Egypt and Lord Kitchener away at the outposts of the Empire, and with the Governors of the Cotton States of America. They talked cotton, and above all they talked peace. Never for a moment did Charles Macara unhitch his wagon from that beckoning star, or lose the faith which was so strong in earlier Manchester that commerce must ultimately civilise and pacify the earth. Since these conversations the world has gone the other way, but it will return to the appointed path, and the work of internationalising Europe will be the easier for these first attempts. The channels have been dug, and habit will find them and run in them again. Habit—even long intermitted habit—always does.[8]

Britain, in her elaborate structure of finance, commerce, and manufacture, has given great hostages to fortune: peace is essential. It is a tragic paradox that to supply her hungry factories and strong boxes, the development of "backward" areas jeopardizes the very basis of her economic institutions by fomenting colonial rivalries and inciting native resentment.[9]

Just as the leaders of finance—investment and commercial banking, insurance, exchange—have created a great world-center in the city of London, so other economic interests have become more nicely articulated in the past few decades and under the urgent pressure of the World War. Today the amalgamation which has proceeded so steadily among newspapers is characteristic of railroads, of heavy metal industries, of banking companies, of the chemical industry, and a dozen others. Even the anarchy which conveniently prevented the coal operators from making a national agreement in 1926 with the miners' unions is disappearing sufficiently to permit a series of reorganizations in the direction of combination. The electrical power industry, and the new broadcasting business or profession or art are more or less loosely administered under public direction or regulation; the cotton industry has long been organized for attacking the common problems of securing raw materials, cheap freights, and ample markets, and is now undertaking to ration itself during the depression. The existence of associations through which prices are fixed and various codes adopted has raised some outcry from consumers; while the relatively small area of Britain places the consumer at the mercy of such functional organizations with little hope of local competition to bring adequate relief. Thus the Association of Chambers of Commerce, the Federation of British Industries, the National Union of Manufacturers are federations of the innumerable local chambers, district, and national industrial organizations and associations, most of whom have their own staffs for conducting negotiations with governments or other economic organizations.[10] Here again we find the state in Britain to be a great plexus of societies through which the citizen shares in the task of government.

It was asked, earlier in this chapter, who had profited from the economic development which characterized Britain during the nineteenth century and down to the World War. Not every investor made profits, of course. Foreign governments, and tropical or prairie railroads were not always competently or honestly administered, and not always, it must be confessed, were investment bankers careful about finding out. But there were two classes in the community whom we have hitherto neglected in our discussion. The repeal of protection for agricultural products brought the new and fertile lands of the Americas and Australia and New Zealand into competition with British farming.[11] Meat from the western ranges of North America could be sold in the village butcher shops of the Cotswolds at less than the cost of meats from the native cattle.

But apart from the problem of new lands, British agricultural society accepted neither the interests and objectives of the French land-owning peasantry, nor those of the Danish co-operatives. The war brought an unnatural stimulus of a submarine-protected market, government aids, and high prices; there was a brief spurt of after-war concern for a self-sufficient Britain; but the costs were too high and the tradition of a century too strong.

The old landed interest that played so powerful a rôle in politics has been forced to yield to the new conservatism of stocks and bonds. Land is desired socially—for country life, recreation, hunting, prestige generally. But a "Distributive Society" of small farmers owning their own land, an egalitarian agrarian system, does not strike deep roots in a country of great urban centers like Britain; Labour is indifferent to such appeals of Chestertonian medievalism; the Conservatives, indeed, rarely envisaged such a society even in the novels of Disraeli; while the Liberals remain substantially a party of city folk. And yet from the landed gentry, and from the country rectories, have come, in the past two centuries, a stream of men and women who have supplied a greatly disproportionate share of British leadership. Who will not recognize in the squires of Washington Irving, Anthony Trollope, and Archibald Marshall successive generations of the essential British patriot—attached to his old home, a patron of local games and interests, and upholder of local custom and tradition? Will the newer social codes and customs cut short this current of national attitude for the internationalism of the Riviera and Mayfair for master and mistress, and Hollywood and the *News of the World* for Hodge and his wife? The answers to these questions lie beyond the platforms of the National Farmers' Union, the proposals of the Agricultural Workers' Union, or the parties.

When, at the close of the Napoleonic Wars, the stream of surplus wealth was directed into overseas investment, as Jenks notes:[12]

> There was an alternative. A transformation of the distributive processes as radical as that of technique might have involved such a proportioning of British resources as would have developed a home market instead of one abroad. The income accumulating to the classes who during the war paid taxes and bought consols, might have found its way to laborers in wages, to small farmers in liquidation of the overcapitalization of their land. That would have meant social revolution. It would have meant a different nineteenth century. It might have implied an abatement of that mingled spirit of calculation and adventure which animated the new economic leviathan.

From the choice which the powerful classes in Britain made a century ago, a new institution has arisen, through which another form of citizenship is expressed. That institution is the trade-union movement. "It is in the socio-political, rather than the economic sense, that the migration of British capital was harmful to the mass of British people. It fostered the growth of a rentier governing class, whose economic interests lie outside the community in which they lived and exerted influence."[13] It was the task of the trade union to organize that other nation which Disraeli had discerned in the early forties, for which Francis Place had even earlier served so ably as a staff official and civil servant in securing the repeal of the Combination Laws. Place, like his friends, was not a good prophet; for he assumed that with the removal of the legal restrictions, the trade unions would no longer be a necessity.

Those who live in "new" countries, where vast areas of cheap or free lands have been opened to settlement by the disinherited, can appraise the labor movements in old, settled societies in terms of contrast. Free land and undeveloped natural resources mean a fluid and dynamic social system. The British settler in South Africa, Mrs. Millin finds,[14] takes on a new self-respect and dignity unknown at home. But there are compensations in an older order. If the opportunities for economic and social advancement are frustrated, or limited to a very few extraordinarily gifted or fortunate persons, ambition and capacity nevertheless continue to press for expression. Some outlet must be created, short of revolution. The British working-classes have created them in voluntary societies which have been, successively and simultaneously, "friendly" societies providing insurance and relief against the vicissitudes of life; negotiating agencies through which a standard of pay and hours could be maintained, and a share of the national income guaranteed; and finally and increasingly, agencies through which some share in the direction of the national industrial system might be tentatively secured.[15] Upon this substantial economic basis, too, a political super-structure was erected; we have seen how the Labour party would be an impossibility without the trade-union movement with its financial aid and its recruitment of leadership. Again, some tie with other states is created through the international working-class movements and organizations.

Very gradually the trade unions won their claim to represent the working-people in the negotiation of industrial agreements;

during the war, their partnership in industry received recognition on boards and committees and in the Whitley Councils plan; and by 1920, the central representative gathering of the Trade Union Congress could report the largest enrolment of trade unionists (approximately six million) in history. The post-war economic depression has forced a decline, however; for while the "sheltered" industries can maintain the gains which trade unions have made in the past twenty years, those in competition with Continental labor and affected by a collapse of buying power in old markets have suffered. Out of this situation came the famous Coal Strike of 1926; and the Labour movement, fearing in the wage reductions in that industry the beginning of a general attack, backed the miners in a General Strike and suffered practical defeat despite the remarkable support which they extended. The movement today is consequently weakened not only by the financial costs of the events of the past few years, but also by the strains placed upon personal relations among its leaders; and since it has alarmed other classes in the community by its show of strength in the General Strike, it faces, in its weakened condition, legislation limiting the power of the industrial and political organizations.

From a century of trade unionism, one of its historians has deduced the British political philosophy of "the inevitability of gradualness." The stratifications of class and inadequate educational systems deflected the talent of workingmen from "a rise in social station" or free proprietorship to new careers overseas or office in trade unions. The problems of the movement gave rise to a greater extension of official duties; to national staffs, extensive welfare and insurance schemes; to frequent attendance upon Whitehall departments or conferences with employers. The expansion into the political arena with the rise of a separate Labour party broadened the horizon again, and brought these leaders into governing society; more accurately, it introduced one governing class to another. Adult educational schemes, the service of non-conformist chapels in which lay activity was encouraged, the conduct of co-operative trading societies, the service on local municipal councils and committees, attached the movement the more strongly to a national institutional life. The international conferences on the Continent brought home to the British delegate all the more strongly his different values and codes. In a time of expanding commerce and lowered food costs, the governing classes could make concessions which would hardly affect their margins and reserves.

Today the state of British industry and commerce no longer permits this easy adjustment. British employers, organized through the National Confederation of Employers' Associations, the Federation of British Industries, the National Council of Economic Leagues, and other societies for purposes of propaganda and conference, and through their industrial associations in each industry and district for common action, try to reduce wages and lengthen hours in an effort to reduce their costs. The competition of other states of the world is a new factor which the Britain of a century ago avoided through her earlier development in industry and finance; and the trade unionist looks anxiously to the Far East, where vast hordes of cheap labor may be thrown into world industrial competition. Consequently attitudes are changing. It is no longer certain that power will be increasingly relinquished to this new citizenship of industry; it may, indeed, be retracted. Lately the moderate leaders among employers and employees have anxiously explored the ground for a new structure of industrial relations and industrial peace. Committees are sent to America to study the secrets of her prosperity; committees of churchmen, of the National Alliance of Employers and Employed, of party organizations, and joint consultative councils search for a "formula" whereby the claims of employers for reduced costs may be adjusted to the claims of labor for the maintenance of its standards and the extension of its participation in the civic life of industry. An aggressive move by extremists on either side stimulates the extremists on the other. This is the explanation of recent events: the increased attention given to the General Council of the Trade Union Congress as a possible "Council of Action," for example, or the trade-union legislation of 1927. This explains such a resolution as the following, voted at the 1925 Trade Union Congress by 2,456,000 to 1,218,000:

> This Congress declares that the Trade Union Movement must organize to prepare the Trade Unions in conjunction with the party of the workers to struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. At the same time Congress warns the workers against all attempts to introduce capitalist schemes of co-partnership which in the past have failed to give the workers any positive rights, but instead have usually served as fetters retarding forward movements. Congress further considers that strong, well organized shop committees are indispensable weapons in

the struggle to force the capitalists to relinquish their grip on industry, and, therefore, pledges itself to do all in its power to develop and strengthen workshop agitation.

If moderate leadership finds itself blocked, the National Minority Movement, the Communist, and extreme "left-wing" sections of the trade-union movement, find an additional plausible weapon in the local areas where personal jealousies and rivalries over trade-union offices are always fuel for the asking.[16] And equally, the Melchetts and Cadburys of industry are scoffed at by their colleagues of the extreme "right," who quote such resolutions or the famous "Miners' Next Step" as conclusive evidence of the revolutionary aims of the trade-union movement. Yet it is clear that these strains within the British system are less the result of imported philosophies than of the challenge to that system that a new world economy raises.

There remains one other economic society whose civic contributions are important. The century which witnessed the creation of the vast economic British empire and the trade-union movement has seen four millions of British working- and lower middle-class people associate themselves in co-operative retail and wholesale societies.[17] Operating essentially as organizations through which the necessities of life could be secured most cheaply and efficiently, these societies have rested upon voluntary effort, unpaid committee service, and crusading zeal. About them has developed a network of study circles, lecture courses, and child-welfare schemes. Here again, through the expansion of the system into manufacture and distribution on a large scale, a career has been offered in another sphere to the ambitious and competent worker of business tastes; and through a rough approximation of membership with that of the trade-union groups, a certain sympathy—not without strains—has been exchanged, and a realization of the complexities of administration and policy in modern economic life literally brought home.

How difficult it is to cram the intricate economic associations of London or Bristol, Leeds or Glasgow, or the hopes and fears of a Norfolk farmer or a merchant of Manchester into categories! And the more so, indeed, in such a time as the present, when the economic interests of the nation seem in process of resolution! Political society is pulled now in this direction, now that, as some equilibrium is sought. Yet through all the controversy over currency and finance, commercial policy and the search for markets, the decisive issue would seem to be the problem of British industrial citizenship. That problem is inevitably linked today with China and Russia, Wall Street and the Ruhr, not for academic reasons or because it is so stated in a communist thesis or an "economic law," but because the extension or even maintenance of the standard of living of millions of British people is affected by what happens in these places, and by the policies of the British governing classes in relation to them.

The strained relations that exist between the employers and the trade unions in British industry suggest the writings of Disraeli in his earlier novels concerning the "Two Nations." Not merely economic issues separate these groups, but also in idealogy, in speech, in commonplace ways of living, there is a wide gulf. Under the pressure of high taxes and an unsettled world-economic situation, the manufacturer and trader turns to a lowering of wages as a means of meeting his burdens. Another group of the wealthy investors seem relatively untouched by the industrial distress, since they continue to receive income from investments in other parts of the world—from rubber plantations in Malay, textile mills in India or China, railroads in South America, cotton plantations in Africa. The resistance of the trade unions to the attempts at wage reduction, the growing sullen bitterness as those attempts succeed, are not softened by disclosures of inefficient organization in such basic industries as coal, or the extravagances of those whose years are spent in a regular procession from London to Cowes, to the grouse moors, to the hunting counties, to the Riviera or Egypt, and back to London for the season. The employers, on the other hand, resent trade-union restrictions on output, and the growing acceptance of a doctrine of permanent class war to the exclusion of attempts to make the existing system succeed. The alarmist concludes that the trades unions are under the influence of foreign, especially Russian, leadership. The "left-wing" labor leader looks upon every effort on the part of an employer to achieve a reform of the existing scheme of economic organization as another palliative to stave off the coming of a new society.

Extremists on both sides attempted to secure a final "knockout" by a policy of preparation for May 1, 1926. On the one hand efforts were made to interest the public in enrolling for service in public utilities in the event of a strike; on the other hand the trades unions were urged to prepare to seize power by the employment of force. It is significant that when the strike came there was not only remarkably little disorder but even little bitterness. On the other hand it is clear that there is to be for the present no basic solution of the problems which caused the strike; further industrial conflict is not eliminated but rather invited so long as no effort is made to attack the problems of reconstruction in the industry which successive commissions have urged. One must inquire, therefore, how far the temper of the labor movement is revolutionary in the sense that it would overturn the present state by force.

Much light is thrown on this problem by an inquiry into the areas of greatest "radicalism." It is generally held that the unions which are most extreme in their views and policies are those in the Clydeside and in certain mining areas, especially in South Wales, parts of Durham and Northumberland, and parts of Scotland. Certain facts are here significant. These areas are the very ones most affected by the problem of unemployment and industrial depression. Industries which are "sheltered," that is, do not bear the direct brunt of the world-economic situation, such as the railroads, and where wages are relatively high, do not have any comparable extremist groups among the trades unions. In Wales, however, the mining villages, isolated physically, as well as intellectually, are in themselves hardly strong arguments for the present economic system in terms of housing, recreational facilities, and the amenities of life generally. This is true for the other mining areas in general; exceptions occur where new areas with rich seams have been recently developed with modern villages for the workers.

Furthermore the cultural interests of these older mining communities have centered in the fierce emotionalism of non-conformity, through the medium of the self-governing chapels and lay preachers who have come up from the class of mining operatives. These villages have seen the terrible suffering of mine accidents: Cook, the "radical" miners' official, has himself been educated in the school of mine accidents and was once a lay preacher. The ethical influences, the physical environment, the awful constant threat of death or suffering which hangs over such communities, the recurring unemployment with the long periods of paying off debts to the storekeeper which follow, these are a sufficient explanation in themselves of a bitter resentment against the employers and the system which they represent. The amazing fact is the presence of fairly good relations between the actual persons involved in these disputes—the refusal of many employers to put strikers out of the company houses as not "playing fair," the organized games of football and cricket during strikes between strikers and bosses and local guards.

On the Clydeside the problem is further complicated.[18] Glasgow contains a large Irish immigrant population, chiefly of unskilled laborers. The leadership among the unions, however, seems to reside with the Scotchmen in the highly skilled shipbuilding trades. Shipbuilding, however, has for some time been depressed because of the war production and the German reparation deliveries in shipping. Here is all the basis, therefore, for a bitterness which actually exists. But this industrial problem is made more difficult by the living conditions, since housing in Glasgow seems to be an almost insoluble problem. Disease, poverty, drink, unemployment, combine to make the life of the industrial masses in the wretched stone tenements a lot from which any kind of escape seems preferable to the present. Finally, during the war the action of the government in arresting and deporting labor leaders in order to prevent strikes has served to embitter the labor movement further. Similarly along the Tyneside the hopeless unemployment, the declining shipping and shipbuilding and coal mining is ample explanation of the existence of a radical wing. Wherever an individual ambitious for leadership in the movement is defeated, too, the left-wing movement offers a chance for "escape" from the acceptance of his defeat, and a possible revenge upon the victor, even if only a revenge through pamphleteering.

Given, therefore, these conditions; given an ethical view which emphasizes the right to live, and the oneness of all humanity, the view that "all shall have bread before any shall have cake," as against the view that economic revival can only come through lowered costs, that wages constitute one factor which must be dealt with against competition from lower wages in other states, and that neither the state nor organized groups have the ethical right to interfere with the conduct of business administration, the wonder is that the struggle has been delayed.[19] That the "Two Nations" have not had a final break is due, of course, to many factors which are discussed throughout this study as nationalizing in their effects. The whole religious influence of the labor movement has been against the employment of force; the long service of the trade-union leaders in administration and their accumulation of funds through insurance and other financial schemes have trained them in statesmanship, as has service in co-operative societies and local governments; among the employers, many have mitigated the clash of interests by welfare work, friendly negotiation with the trades unions, and a sense of responsible statemanship. Also, we must not forget that in the field of political activity the substantial achievements of the movement have brought the workers through their leaders, into direct contact with the governing classes, of which their leaders now constitute a part. The passion for education which has characterized one group, too, has equally stimulated the growth of fresh and radical outlooks and also a more critical view of short cuts to power and success. While the experiment of a workers' government in Russia interests them and wins their support, it is with disapproval of the methods employed and resentment at interference in their own trade-union concerns. Finally, the conduct of the General Strike and of the mining controversy has raised so many questions that the movement at the present time is made uncertain in its strategy and tactics. Personal animosities and disagreements over policy weakened it as a possible instrument of "revolution," did the desire for it exist.[20]

There are, therefore, in the economic system two broadly defined social classes (ignoring the infinite varieties of subdivisions) with antagonistic interests at certain points, with different cultural outlooks. In newer countries such as the dominions and the United States, conflict would be delayed or mitigated because of the relatively easy transition from one class into the other. In Britain the stratification has proceeded farther and for a longer time; that way escape does not lie. The abler and more ambitious among the less favored classes on the contrary find their careers within the class in the trades union or party movements, and thus achieve a relatively satisfactory adjustment; through them, and through the effect which they may have as negotiators or politicians upon national policy, their followers or comrades share in the direction of the national life. Where the ordinary conditions provide for the possibilities of securing that influence, the temper of these movements is relatively peaceful, reformist, evolutionary, and for each man the interests of his garden, sport, racing, drink, sex, adult education, or some other activity provide further satisfaction. Where, however, conditions are extraordinary, marked by low wages, unemployment, existence upon local poor relief, wretched housing, incapable political or industrial leadership in the movement, or excessive controversy or jealousy among the leaders, there will be talk—and potential action—outside the ordinarily accepted rules of the game. The leaders of the political and industrial movements have come to be so much associated with the problems of governing, in contrast with other European movements,[21] that the dangers of this last course seem to depend almost wholly upon the world economic situation and the ability of the statesmen and leaders of the great industrial, commercial, and banking interests to deal effectively with it.[22] In brief, the evidence available leads one to believe that the great majority of the members of the two labor movements in Great Britain—industrial and political—far from being "anti-state" aim rather to permeate further the governing organizations and influence them through "the inevitability of gradualness." Whether the actual resources of Great Britain as related to the markets of the world, and the ability of her managers and engineers to organize these are equal to this situation is another question.[23]

NOTES

1. The best general appraisal of the present economic situation in Great Britain with which I am familiar is the book entitled *Post War Britain,* by Professor André Siegfried of the École Libre des Science Politiques, Paris. For the overseas extension of the British economic system I have drawn upon Leland H. Jenk's brilliant study of *The Migration of the British Capital* (New York, 1927).

The Statesman's Yearbook contains a statistical summary of current industry and commerce: *The Statistical Abstract for the Several British Overseas Dominions and Protectorates* and *The Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom* give the official governmental annual surveys. *The Resources of the Empire and Their Development,* by Mr. Evans Lewin of the Royal Colonial Institute is a recent descriptive study of value. For general economic historical factors, of course Cunningham and Ashley are standard authorities, and Porter's *The Progress of the Nation* (edition of 1912) is useful. Three more popular general treatments of the interrelation of economic factors on social development are: *The Rise of Modern Industry,* by J. L. and B. Hammond (London, 1925); *Great Britain in the Latest Age,* by A. S. Turberville and F. A. Howe (London and New York, 1921); *The Making of Modern England,* by Gilbert Slater (London, 1919). The first of the above-listed three confines its discussion to the earlier period, extending to approximately 1850; the second was prepared for adult classes in the army and brings its account down to recent years, as does the third, whose author was a tutor at Ruskin College, the Labour college at Oxford. A series of studies dealing with recent unemployment problems, especially the latest entitled *The Third Year of Unemployment* (London: Macmillan), is useful; while the pre-war development of social legislation is treated in Professor Carleton Hayes's *British Social Politics,* and in *The Idea of Social Justice* by C. W. Pipkin (New York, 1927). Current opinion may be followed not only in such relatively specialized journals as the *Economist* and the *Statist,* but also in the *Spectator,* the *Saturday Review,* the *Nation and Athenæum,* the *New Statesman,* the *New Leader,* the *Communist Review* and similar journals of opinion, most of which in addition to editorial comment and signed articles on economic questions also publish a weekly letter dealing with finance, commerce, and industry especially as reflected in the stock market.

2. Jenks, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

3. Three studies by J. L. and B. Hammond are instructive on the whole problem of this transition and development—*The Village Labourer, The Town Laborer, The Skilled Laborer.* In a later volume, *The Life of Lord Shaftesbury,* they deal with the efforts made to alleviate the suffering caused by the new industry and to limit or prevent its attendant evils. See on this, also, *The Life of Francis Place* by Graham Wallas, and Julius West, *The Chartist Movement.*

4. See Lord Morley's *Life of Richard Cobden,* and Trevelyan's *Life of John Bright* for descriptions of this movement. An interesting view of the struggle may be seen from a different angle in Disraeli's *Sybil* and *Coningsby* and Meredith's *Beauchamp's Career,* in which the clash of the landed aristocracy and the new wealthy commercial and industrial classes is portrayed.

5. I have followed here the conclusions of Professor Siegfried for the most part. See especially his chapters i to iii inclusive.

6. This speech is reprinted in the *Appeal by the Bankers of the United Kingdom* issued by the National Association of Merchants and Manufacturers (14 Mincing Lane, London, E.C. 3). It is interesting to compare this manifesto with the "Petition of the Merchants of the City of London" addressed to the House of Commons in 1820. See Professor Halévy's discussion of this in the second volume of his *History of England.*

7. The Ministry of Labour publishes a *Directory of Employers' Associations, Trade Unions, Joint Organizations,* etc. The 1925 issue includes 2,403 employers' associations, 1,250 trade unions, 505 trades councils, 418 conciliation and arbitration boards, 62 joint industrial councils, 65 trade boards, and 47 agricultural wages boards and committees.

8. *Sir Charles Macara* (Manchester, 1917), p. 151.

9. *Imperialism and World Politics,* by Professor Parker T. Moon (New York, 1925), is a most interesting analysis of the problem of the gains and losses of imperialism. On the topic raised above, I commend especially chapter iii in which he discusses the factor of economic interest, of nationalism, missionary interest, cultural interests, etc. He then in the following chapters analyzes the situation in these respects in the Congo, West Africa, East Africa, the Sudan, South Africa, North Africa, the Near East, the Middle East, Southern Asia, the Far East, the Pacific Islands, and Latin America. Another study of value on this point is E. M. Earle's *Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway* (New York, 1923). Note especially his account of the securing of control by Britain of the Bagdad and Anatolian Railways and its relation to the Treaty of Lausanne, pp. 334 *et seq.*

10. I am indebted to the staffs of several national economic organizations for information concerning their activities, courteously given to me in conversation; I have also studied their pamphlet materials and printed reports. Volume V of the *Studies in Labour and Capital* published by the Labour Research Department, a staff agency of the Labour party and Trade Union Congress, contains brief descriptions of some of these organizations. The National Confederation of Employers' Associations represents the interests of its large membership before government departments and other public or semi-public organizations. It is primarily concerned with labor questions. The Federation of British Industries may be studied conveniently through the pages of its magazine, *British Industries.* The National Union of Manufacturers is interested primarily in tariff protection. The Empire Industries Association and the British Empire Producers' Organization, like the Empire Self-Supporting League, are interested in imperial fiscal policy and economic development. The point of view of these groups is

represented broadly in *What Every Briton Ought to Know*, by B. H. Morgan, based on radio addresses on imperial economic policies. The Association of British Chambers of Commerce is the central office of the numerous local chambers. The Land Union represents the interests of landowners, and was called into being by the famous Budget of 1909. The Labour Research Department has published studies of organization in the press, railways, shipping, etc. The Free Trade League and the Cobden Club are propagandist organizations for free trade. The Central Council of Economic Leagues conducts propaganda by speakers and publications "to combat the fallacious economic doctrines of Collectivism, Socialism, and Communion and to uphold freedom, enterprise, and initiative." One of its officials informed me that their ideals were well set forth in the writings of Samuel Smiles, and in *The Confessions of a Capitalist* by Sir Ernest Benn. The Anti-Socialist and Anti-Communist Union supplies pamphlet propaganda of the sort indicated by its title, and trains speakers. The National Citizens' Union, a post-war society organized to protect the interests of the middle classes, issues anti-Labour party and trade-union propaganda through its journal, the *New Voice*, its speakers, and pamphlets. Some of these organizations are what is known in the provinces as "London offices," and not of much importance except as revealing attitudes of groups of people who are willing to finance them.

11. The *Year Book of the National Farmers' Union* may be consulted profitably for the attitudes and activities of this class. The Liberal party report entitled *The Land and the Nation* is a useful survey. See also Lord Ernle's *English Farming*, and *England's Green and Pleasant Land*, anonymous. The publications of the Oxford and Cambridge agricultural economists (e.g., C. S. Orwin) are invaluable; the writings of Mr. Christopher Turnor will give the attitude of an enlightened country gentleman. A revealing picture of the social life of the country gentry is Sassoon's *Memoirs of a Fox-Hunting Man*, London, 1928.

12. Jenks, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 334.

14. *The South Africans*, Sarah Millin (London, 1926).

15. There are now many studies of the trade-union movement available to the general reader. Apart from the articles in newspapers and magazines I have relied upon *The History of Trade Unionism*, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb (rev. ed. extended to 1920; London, 1920); *Industrial Democracy*, by the same authors (London, 1897); the writings of G. D. H. Cole, especially *Self Government in Industry and the World of Labour; The Frontier of Control*, by Carter Goodrich (New York, 1920); M. Beer, *A History of British Socialism;* the *Report of the Fifty-Seventh Annual Trades Union Congress*, 1925; the publications of the Labour Research Department; and *The Labour Yearbook*. A valuable discussion of the tendencies in the trades-union movement is to be found in the *New Statesman* for September 12, 1925, entitled "'Right' and 'Left' at the Trades Union Congress." It is significant of the importance of the movement that its proceedings are fully reported in the daily papers, especially in the *Morning Post, Telegraph* and *Times* in London, and the *Manchester Guardian.* The attitude of various wings of the movement concerning the current trades-union policies can be studied in the pages of *Lansbury's Weekly*, the *New Leader, Forward*, and the *Daily Herald.* The *Report of the British Trades Union Delegation to Russia in November and December, 1924*, reveals the widespread interest among the unions in the problem of Russian relations. There is a brief pamphlet by the former General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress entitled *The Story of the Trades Union Congress* which provides a useful survey of its history and functions. A more extended account is to be found in *The History and Recollections of the British Trades Union Congress*, by W. J. Davis, but this extends only to the year 1910.

There are various pamphlets issued by the National Minority Movement in which its objects are set forth, notably in *What the Minority Movement Stands For.* A series of articles which were published in the *Times* entitled "The Communist Movement," by Dr. A. Shadwell, has been republished in pamphlet form (London, 1925). A famous "left-wing" publication is *The Miners' Next Step,* issued in 1912 by the "Unofficial Reform Committee" for submission to the South Wales Miners' Federation Executive. This document is still used by the opponents of the trades union to frighten the public.

16. There is an interesting discussion of conflicting opinions in the British Labour movement in Leon Trotsky's *Whither England,* and Norman Angell's reply entitled *Must Britain Travel the Moscow Road.* Trotsky attacks bitterly the "moderate" leaders in the British political and industrial wings of the movement for their religious connections and sentiments, their bourgeois democracy, association with royalty and the "enemy" classes, etc. There is a certain air of unreality of phrase and attitude not only in the Russian Communist writings about the British movement, but even in the resolutions which the National Minority Movement passes at its own conventions and urges upon the Trade Union Congress. At the other extreme, the editorials of the *Morning Post,* the pamphlets of the National Council of Economic Leagues, or the resolutions of the Primrose League or the National Citizens' Union suggest Moscow gold in a good many of the acts and speeches of even those Labour leaders who are attacked by the "left" as being too moderate.

17. See *The Consumers' Co-operative Movement,* by Beatrice and Sidney Webb (London, 1921). The *Annual Reports* and innumerable publications of the Co-operative Union, Holyoake House, Manchester, contain full information concerning the movement.

18. See William Bolitho's *Cancer of Empire,* a poignant study of Glasgow working-class quarters. For the business life of the city Frederick Nivins' *Justice of the Peace* is an acute study.

19. *My Life for Labour,* by Robert Smillie; *J. Keir Hardie,* by William Stewart; and *Tom Bryan,* by H. G. Wood and A. E. Ball are excellent glimpses of working-class life, the first two being Scottish labor leaders, the third a working-class boy who worked his way through Glasgow University and eventually became active in adult education, although remaining in close touch with the political side of the labor movement. All three stress the point I discuss above—the religious influences which have shaped the attitudes of the older leaders.

It is an interesting speculation concerning the future of this influence. The younger men are not to be found in such religious movements, or even educational movements, at the present time. They are finding the political and industrial activities of the labor movement itself, with its attendent cultural activities, sufficient. It seems to me inevitable that this will more and more affect the attitude of the movement, making it more self-contained and isolated.

Trotsky's attack is interesting in this connection. "The Party distinguishes itself from Continental socialism in that it has never assumed an 'anti-Christian' tendency. For this 'Left,' the socialist policy is guided by private morality, and private morality by religion. This is in no way different from the philosophy of Lloyd George, who considers the Church as the central source of energy of all parties." The analysis of the British Labour party leaders from a Communist point of view, given in chapter iii of Trotsky's book, is illuminating.

20. The 1926 meetings of the Labour party and the Trades Union Congress revealed the strains and disagreements which have resulted from the General Strike and Coal Strike. Broadly speaking, the miners' leaders feel that the General Council of the Trades Union Congress "let them down" in calling off the Strike. The Council, on the other hand, apparently feels that despite the large

sacrifices made for the miners by other unions and the heavy losses sustained, the recalcitrant and "bitter end" position of the miners' leaders in the early days was fatal to a negotiated peace with relative honor as compared with the subsequent settlement. Personal feelings naturally played a part, as for example "left wing" dislike of Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Thomas, the rivalry of Cook and Hodges, the resentment at the steady transition to the right wing of Mr. Robert Williams, etc. The *New Leader* throughout the months of May through November contained many articles and letters bearing upon this situation.

21. Compare, for example, the careers of such Labour leaders as Cramp, Smillie, Thomas, George Edwards, or MacDonald in Britain with Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg in Germany, or Lenin, Trotsky, or Stalin in Russia or Larkin in Ireland. The critic of the social order who must keep "on the run," who lives a hectic and furtive life in exile, separated from the actual field of action for long periods, denied the home and community life common to most men, naturally takes on a different personality. A most interesting study of such groups is to be found in two novels of Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eye* and *The Secret Agent.*

22. *The Confessions of a Capitalist,* by Sir Ernest Benn, and A. G. Gardiner's *Life of George Cadbury* give glimpses into a different world and atmosphere; in both one feels the possibility of maintaining the existing systems with modifications and reforms. The National Industrial Alliance, the Industrial Councils (Whitley Councils) in over fifty industries, and other organizations and efforts could be cited to illustrate the attempts to secure a working copartnership of employers and employees.

23. What most employers seem to resent in the trades-union position is not merely the long-developed policy of restrictions or the necessity for wage negotiations so much as the growth of the acceptance of the idea of an inevitable class war. For the acceptance of this means that no effort will be made to meet the advances of the employers for a peaceful adjustment of conflicting interests in order to make the system of private property work at all, or to at least derive whatever benefits and advantages that system might offer if it were operated in a more friendly atmosphere. Unquestionably the constant insistence of many leaders—as among the miners, for example—upon the necessity for an entire reorganization of industry with the elimination of private property and profits, while it may stimulate a more effective fighting atmosphere and mood as a preliminary to wage discussions or as a means of keeping up the enthusiasm of the group when on strike, tends to elevate the aggressive and active type of leader at the expense of quieter but more expert servants of the movement. It is fair, I think, to cite the contrasting personalities of A. J. Cook and Frank Hodges to illustrate this point. So long as the movement is persistently affected by a fighting atmosphere, the working out of the *minutiae* of administrative and legislative measures is necessarily delayed, and the use of the technician, the expert, made difficult if not impossible. But I would again emphasize that the fighting program is not one supplied by such outside groups as the Third International, but a product of the British situation and experience. To the Scotch miner it is Burns rather than Lenin who has voiced the need for a new society; and it is to Robert Owen rather than to Trotsky that one can turn for influential ideas.

CHAPTER XII

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

In the political, the social, and the professional spheres alike woman has established her right to a place in the sun beyond challenge. . . . . She has not only won the vote, but she sits in Parliament, and has even made her appearance on the Government bench. . . . . Those who feared that the emancipation of women would be the end of all things, and those who believed that it would instantly usher in earthly paradise have been alike disillusioned.—A. G. Gardiner, *Portraits and Portents.*

At times, indeed, among her intimates, Mrs. Nightingale almost wept. "We are ducks," she said with tears in her eyes, "who have hatched a wild swan." But the poor lady was wrong; it was not a swan that they had hatched; it was an eagle.—Lytton Strachey, "Florence Nightingale," in *Eminent Victorians.*

She liked us to love the old house, as we did; she was very tender and affectionate with it, as though the house were a kind old nurse, faithful and worn, with whom we must be gentle. She would lay her hand on a wall, a panel, a window-sill, with a touch that seemed to stroke it softly; "the poor old place," she said, with a kind of bantering tenderness. She lived there for nearly fifty years, and her many children grew up there. Nothing was ever changed. The house had been all new-furnished when she went to live there, a few years after her first marriage, and so it remained.—Percy Lubbock, *Earlham.*

The King's horse seemed to be leading, another few seconds would have brought it or one of its rivals past the winning post, when . . . . a slender figure, a woman, darted with equal swiftness from the barrier to the middle of the course, leapt to the neck of the King's horse, and in an instant, the horse was down, kneeling on a crumpled woman. . . . . Then a roar of mingled anger, horror, inquiry went up from the crowd of many thousands. "It's the Suffragettes" shouted some one.—Sir Harry Johnston, *Mrs. Warren's Daughter.*

It is a strange thing that England's first woman Member of Parliament should have come from England's first colony.—Lady Astor, *My Two Countries.*

How far do the generalizations and comments which have been made here concerning British civic life apply to both sexes? This question is naturally raised because of the recent enfranchisement of women under the Acts of 1918 and 1928; and there is, therefore, included here some comment on the educational opportunities which have been provided for girls and women, and a sampling of the civic organizations which the women have developed in recent years.

Clearly, however, the securing of the suffrage or the opening up of higher educational opportunities at the universities do not constitute the evidence of a sharp break in the civic life of women in Britain. H. W. Nevinson writes:

> It was a practical and organizing power for getting things done that distinguished the remarkable women of the last century, and perhaps of all ages, far more than the soft and sugary qualities which sentimentality has delighted to plaster on its ideal of womanhood, while it talks its pretty nonsense about chivalry and the weakness of woman being her strength. As instances, one could recall Elizabeth Fry, Sister Dora, Josephine Butler, Mary Kingsley, Octavia Hill, Dr. Garrett Anderson, Mrs. F. G. Hogg (whose labour secured the Employment of Children Act and the Children's Courts), and a crowd more in education, medicine, natural science, and political life.[1]

Florence Nightingale not only fought through a great reform in the War Office, but helped blaze a path into professional life for her sex; Octavia Hill helped to create a new profession of social work not only for her own sex but for both. In a later generation, Maude Royden has made of the Guildhouse a center for a far-reaching religious and ethical influence among both men and women; Gertrude Bell may rightly be ranked among the empire-builders of Britain, since her influence among the Arabs and in the new State of Irak was not only based upon a profound knowledge of the Near East but upon the position of her family in the governing class at home. One finishes the volumes of Lady Asquith's memoirs with no sense that the women who are described there are cut off from political influence or activity; Colonel Repington testifies to the fact that even in the grimmest of man-controlled administrative offices, the War Department, there were advantages in having for friends ladies of high social station. But beyond the inner circles of London society, in which fashionable or clever women presumably possess the political influences that their sisters do in any capital, or outside the ranks of the exceptionally clever or ambitious pioneers—the Beatrice Potters or Octavia Hills—there have been, in Britain, the civic influences of the wives of country clergymen or of landed squires. Kipling's Lady Conant, in *An Habitation En-*

forced, looking after the affairs of a countryside, is only the fictional counterpart of unnumbered Englishwomen of memoir or biography.

Two movements of the last half-century have, however, increased the flow of women into civic activities more directly. One is the extension of higher educational opportunities for women;[2] the other, the women's trade-union movement.[3] The attitudes stimulated and developed by the older association of the women of the governing class with local or national civic interests were necessarily narrow and inbred, unsustained as they were by any widening of the intellectual horizons through higher education. The attachments to the interests of a family and class strengthened the prejudices and outlooks of both; the Mrs. Proudies of the cathedral close were more ambitious and domineering than their bishop husbands, and long after the English landlord of Irish acres was willing to consider the possibility of some grants to Irish nationalists his lady was still to be won over. "At the beginning of the Victorian era the education of women was usually at a low ebb, being scanty, superficial and incoherent," states a recent report.[4] By the middle of the last century, however, with the founding of the Governesses' Benevolent Association in 1843 and of Queens' College, London, in 1848, the movement for higher education for women was under way. Bedford College, London, was founded in 1849; Cheltenham College, in 1853; and as the newer provincial universities developed, a system of coeducation made possible there as at London a university education for women. Through the pioneer efforts of Miss Emily Davies and others, colleges for women have been founded at the two older universities of Oxford and Cambridge;[5] the Scottish universities have also been open to women. By the twentieth century a number of public schools for girls, both boarding and day, had been established, while with the development of secondary schools by education authorities the number of girls in them has come to approximate that of the boys. The public schools, being of recent foundation, have not had the traditions of the older boys' schools to assist them; but the new schools for girls have adapted the system of prefectural organization, games, and the development of an *esprit de corps* of the school as a fundamental civic training.

The curriculum of the girls' secondary schools approximates that found in the boys' schools but with more emphasis on English literature and less on the sciences; while in the universities women students and teachers already have substantial achievements in history and economics to their credit. Here again the work of the London School of Economics and Political Science is outstanding. In the two older universities the limitations upon the place of the women's colleges and status, and the paucity of endowments and scholarships, place the women at a disadvantage.

The entrance of women into industry has been followed by the development of trade-union organization among them. Through the affiliation of these unions with the Trade Union Congress and the Labour party, a career in civic activity has been made available which an increasing number of women followed during and after the World War. The securing of educational opportunities has been followed by entrance into professional life and business, and also into the Civil Service; but in all these activities the fight to secure entrance, and following entrance, equitable treatment, has been a severe one. This fact, and the incompleteness of the grant of suffrage in 1918, diverted the activity and outlook of most women's civic organizations to the problem of equal rights, an issue that has transcended and cross-sected party and class lines. But it is in the professions of teaching and social work that the women have made the most gains; and it is significant that their securing educational opportunity coincided with the great development of both occupations. Thus the contact with the varied problems of economic institutions and of political activity and the opportunities for higher education have given to a group of women—still limited in number—a broader outlook upon the national life than the drawing-room or rectory provided, and have enabled some working-class women to follow new careers.

The extension of suffrage to women has made it essential to all parties to organize the new electorate. As yet they are represented by only a few of their sex in Parliament; but they are more numerous in local councils, committees, and boards, and have received some representation in appointments as justices of the peace. A few have gained a ministerial post, or even appointment to the British delegation to the League of Nations. However, J. A. Spender[6] notes:

> So far as our short experience takes us there is little to distinguish women's politics from men's politics. . . . . I am told that special appeals to women voters are very likely to defeat their own object and will quite certainly do so if those who draft them seem to imply that women

are the inferior or even the simpler sex. . . . . I think it is clear that if the woman M.P. is to succeed she must go the man's road and beat him, if she can, at the man's game. All that can be said about the male politician applies, therefore, to the female and requires no correction for sex.[7]

Nevertheless the range and variety of activity among the women's organizations that are related to civic affairs are impressive. Let us select, therefore, some of the party and general civic associations which the women have built up within the past few years to illustrate the way in which their interests and efforts are being integrated with the older political structure.

The Women's Unionist Organization is a part of the Conservative party machinery, but is itself a separate part with its own organization and offices, membership, and funds, represented jointly with the men on Divisional Executives of the party. The reasons for the separation policy are varied. It was felt that it would be easier to secure interest and activity in an organization run by and for women; the best times for meetings for women differ from those of men; the women are more concerned with certain subjects, such as social problems; women desire different kinds of speakers than the men, and can be appealed to by different types of propaganda. There is a district woman agent, while each constituency has a man agent; each ward and polling district has its organization with representatives of each sex in fixed proportions elected by the Joint Divisional Executive. The proportion varies around two men to one woman or three men to one woman on these local organization committees. The duties of the women organizations include the increasing of party membership, the collection of subscriptions to party funds, political education through house visiting and the distribution of literature, and social activities such as cottage meetings, dances, teas, whist drives, garden fêtes, and lantern lectures. Branch meetings, working meetings for local charities, meetings of canvassers, debating classes, "socials," balls, and similar social activities are undertaken. In addition to clerical work and canvassing women assist the party by tracing removals, arranging hospitality for speakers, conveying voters to the polls in motors, and collecting party cards from voters on polling day and checking off the voters. The study clubs which are formed read selected books on the empire, industry, politics, local government, and socialism and communism.

Some of the discussions at the 1925 Annual Conference of the Women's Unionist Organization may be quoted to illustrate the attitude of this group on the question of civic education.[8] The Chairman, the Viscountess Elveden, C.B.E., in her opening address stated that "wherever energetic people try to start an organization for children on Imperial and patriotic lines—not definite Party teaching so much as the teaching of loyalty and good citizenship—they will find that the children respond." More definite expressions, however, followed in the debate on a resolution (subsequently adopted) viewing with apprehension "the determined efforts of the Socialist Party to absorb into its ranks the Children of our Empire," and urging "each Constituency to make every effort to instil into children at an early age the three principles of Religion, Patriotism, and Discipline by means of organizations in the Conservative Party." "Train them," said one speaker, "in patriotism, perhaps taking the wide and splendid lines of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. Train the children by simple songs, by simple plays and stories, and merely drive into them a lesson of patriotism, and the Socialists coming later will find that a foundation upon which they cannot build and those children will be saved." "In Pentonville," said another, "we have the children in on Friday evening with their dirt and everything. We are going to teach them to love Old England, the King and the Empire, and to feel jolly well proud of themselves." Other speakers advocated a watch upon the programs and activities of the Women's Institutes and Co-operative Women's Guild, to prevent the appearance in those organizations of Socialist propaganda and to forward "patriotism." Lady Maxse said:

> I want those of us who feel as I do that although the League of Nations may be an admirable ideal for the future, and may do educational work in the present, yet we still feel that a great deal of sloppy talk is being indulged in. I want you to get up and say so, because that side of the case is going entirely by default. I don't know if you feel as I do—that that Service that we all go to in Church on November eleventh has passed from being a Thanksgiving for victory. It became at first a Memorial of our Dead; and now it has become what our Dead would not have wished it to be—a Service for the League of Nations. You have got to get down to facts about it. . . . . We have got to understand that the League of Nations can be turned into an engine for the destruction of the British Empire; and we have got to do that in the face of a great deal of perfectly well-meant, but incurably sloppy sentiment. You know, my friends, I have sometimes felt that there is something a

little selfish in the cry: "Give peace in *our* time, O Lord!" And therefore I want you to teach people that there was virtue in sacrifice, even though it led to rivers of blood and gold, and that there would have been fewer rivers of blood and gold if we had not thought that everything would come right on the night whether we prepared or not.

The Conservative party possesses, in the rural districts, a traditional alliance with the landed gentry and the church; and the social prestige of the women of the Rectory and of the Hall is, therefore, a great advantage in electioneering. Women are active in the work of the Primrose League also. There are journals published by the organization, devoted to party interests and reporting the doings of local groups, articles on the empire, empire food and other products, the menace of Communism as exemplified by happenings in Russia, and similar material. A subsidiary organization is the Conservative Women's Reform Association, whose object it is to study questions of the day affecting women and children and to initiate and support policies of social reform in co-operation with Conservative members of Parliament. Women participate in the work of the annual conferences of the party and there are Unionist women in the House of Commons.[9]

The women active in the Liberal party are either organized under the Organization for Liberal Women or else in the Liberal associations with the men.[10] A monthly magazine, the *Liberal Women's News* contains news of the activities of the women's sections, and general party material. The Women's National Liberal Federation is the national organization to which local groups are affiliated. The functions performed by women in party work are similar to those discussed above for the Conservatives.

The Labour party in many ways has taken the initiative among the parties in work among women citizens.[11] It has a women's section with a chief organizer, and women are affiliated with the party as the men are through unions, trades councils, Socialist or co-operative societies, or through the I.L.P. The discussions at the national conferences cover a broader range than in the other parties, especially on the side of international relations and social reform. The *Labour Woman,* the monthly journal, contains news of local groups, party activities in general, and special articles bearing on political questions. In the local organizations a great deal of work is done by the women, and it is due in large measure to their activity in organizing and canvassing that the party has been able to overcome the lack of an adequate press support. Through their loyalty families in limited circumstances are able to save various sums for the party chest, and the spirit of crusade characterizes their work. They have had several representatives in the House of Commons.

There are similarities among all the party organizations of women, as is obvious from this brief sketch.[12] All parties have found it useful to have special women's groups and to present special party literature and propaganda generally for the woman voter. All have refused to allow to women candidates many safe seats. Lady Astor, Mrs. Phillipson, and Mrs. Wintringham, and others have succeeded to seats vacated by their husbands. In all parties much of the hard work of local campaigning, much of the *minutiae* of clerical work, most of the entertaining, most of the social activities, fall to the women. The efforts for more serious educational work come in great measure from the women, although the Liberal men and the Labour men are active here probably more than the Unionist men. The Labour women emphasize the evils of the capitalist system as exhibited by the cost of living and low wages, enmity to war, and the problems of education, housing, and health work. The Liberal women are more active than the others in study and discussion of the drink problem. Of course the Labour women, however, have the advantage of the organization of trade-union women, the affiliation of many members in co-operative societies, and the possibility of reaching the wives of organized trades unionists. The Unionist women have the advantages of the prestige of various titled and socially prominent women to attract numbers to their social gatherings.

There are certain non-party organizations of women with political interests. The Consultative Committee of Women's Organizations is representative of sixty-six organizations of various kinds —the Actress' Franchise League, the British Federation of University Women, the Women's National Liberal Federation, etc. Its purposes are informational and consultative concerning political problems affecting women, and it recommends action to its constituent bodies. In its meetings for one year, it discussed problems of education, factory legislation, widows' pensions, the salaries and status of women civil servants, women doctors, married women's income tax, lunacy reform, the revision of the Marriage Service, and the entry of Germany into the League of Nations! It takes no action at General Elections of a partisan sort, but does send joint resolutions on various questions to the parties and it has urged upon the parties the extension of fairer opportunities to women candidates for safer seats. It exchanges its minutes with the Women's Joint Congressional Committee at Washington.

The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship seeks to secure equality of liberties, status, and opportunities between men and women and such further reforms as are necessary to make possible the adequate discharge of citizenship duties by women. Outstanding items on its program include the extension of the suffrage to women on the same basis as men, an equal moral standard, more women in Parliament, equal pay for equal work in industry and the professions for men and women, equal guardianship of children, state pensions for widows with dependent children, improvement of the status of illegitimate children, and support of the League of Nations. While it is non-partisan, it supports by money and personal effort women candidates and any candidate who supports the program of the Union. It carries on active work in urging legislation, administrative action, local governmental programs, and education along the lines of its program. It has 164 affiliated societies which are local, 11 affiliated national organizations and 5 Federations of societies which are affiliated. It conducts a summer school and publishes a monthly, the *Woman Leader*. The National Women Citizens' Association has somewhat similar purposes. It grew out of the desire to educate the newly enfranchised women voters, and seeks to accomplish this end chiefly by education through local groups of women.

The Women's Freedom League has descended from a militant suffrage group of the old suffrage controversy days. It is aggressive in its program of equality of opportunity and power for women with men in all activities of the national life, which includes such items as the sending of 300 women members to the House of Commons, women members in the Lords, and an equal number of men and women in the Cabinet. Its weekly paper is entitled the *Vote*. The St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance seeks to secure political and economic equality between men and women and to further the work and usefulness of Catholic women as citizens. It publishes a monthly journal entitled the *Catholic Citizen;* its methods are strictly non-party. The Six Point Group, under the chairmanship of Viscountess Rhondda, was formed to secure six objectives—legislation dealing with child assault, legislation for the widowed mother, legislation for the unmarried mother and her children, equal rights of both parents in the guardianship of children, equal pay for teachers, and equal opportunities for men and women in the civil service. It will be noted that all of the societies described above are attempting to secure equality of treatment for men and women in respect of various fields of civic activity.

There are also organizations of women whose purpose is not primarily political, but whose activities reflect some light upon the education of women in civic matters. The National Council of Women of Great Britain, federated to the International Council of Women, is a central organization of many local societies. It takes action at its annual meetings on various issues affecting women and children, especially in fields of morals, sex inequality, and temperance reform. Its programs so far as the local societies are concerned are catholic in interest, ranging from social work in local charitable and philanthropic societies to the study of the empire. The Council has committees on education, emigration and immigration, housing, industrial problems, international problems, maternity and child welfare, parliamentary and legislative matters, women police, publications and the press, public health and insurance, public service and women magistrates, rescue and prevention, and temperance. It also stresses the removal of sex inequality in citizenship privileges. The National Federation of Women's Institutes[13] was established in conjunction with the Women's Branch of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, largely from war activities and organizations stimulated by the Canadian experience. It is important chiefly in the rural areas, where the local women's institutes are in many places the outstanding agencies in anything that may be called adult education among the women. The national organization assists in organizing local institutes, administers certain library resources through grants from the Carnegie Trust, holds schools for volunteer organizers, and provides means of instruction for rural institute members in handicrafts, agriculture, domestic science, hygiene, and social welfare. There are now about 3,300 of these local institutes. A monthly journal entitled *Home and Country* is published. The programs of study, lectures and discussions of the institutes include such topics as legislation affecting poor relief, health, mental deficiency, rural industries, maternity, and education.

Typical "patriotic" organizations among women are the Women's Guild of Empire[14] and the British Women's Patriotic League.[15] The objects of the former include the "upholding of King and Country," the spreading of a "knowledge of economic and imperial questions" in order to create an atmosphere of tolerance and mutual understanding in politics and industry, and the overcoming of class and party prejudice. It seeks to counteract communist propaganda by sending out speakers, and doing educational work among children, and it urges the buying of British goods. It is especially concerned with centers of radical voting and talk and with the Socialist Sunday Schools. Battersea, with its Communist member, has been a particular point of attack through a full-time paid worker. The British Women's Patriotic League is a "non-party organization . . . . to educate public opinion on the necessity of patriotism in a practical form." Its most specific item in the list of activities is the encouragement of the production of British goods, which it fosters through an Empire Shopping Week. It encourages child migration to the dominions, combats communist Sunday schools, holds lectures and meetings, and trains speakers for them on such topics as the Menace of Communism, and organizes study clubs on national problems. It is also interested in physical fitness of youth and military tournaments.

Some women's groups have affiliations with international societies. The National Council of Women is represented in the International Council; in addition there is the International Women's Suffrage Alliance which has in its English branch committees on various political questions, the Women's International League which is the British section of the Women's League for Peace and Freedom and the Council for the Representation of Women in the League of Nations. The International League[16] has an extensive program of study. It seeks compulsory arbitration of international disputes, a dominion status for India, and many domestic reforms. It co-operates in no-more-war demonstrations and works with other peace groups such as the National Council for the Prevention of War and the Union for Democratic Control. Its work is largely educational through study classes, meetings, demonstrations, and the supplying of material to groups. It publishes a monthly news sheet and pamphlets. The Council for the Representation of Women on the League of Nations is composed of representatives of several societies who have sought united effort to secure the membership of women on government delegations to the League and on the League's committees and staff.

These, then, are among the organizations which have been established to provide for the civic education and participation of women. Through some of them, class and party lines are being broken down for the protection of interests peculiar to women. The problems of suffrage, of status in education, the professions, the civil service, and industry are common to all women. Yet it appears that the larger number—not necessarily the most keenly interested—are devoting their effort to party services; thus strengthening the more the sectional outlook of the families from which future citizens are coming. Broadly speaking, except for a small number among whom are some of those most active in "internationalist" movements, British women have had little contact or acquaintance with the culture and interests of other peoples.

The Adult Education Committee reported, in 1919, that fewer women than men had taken advantage of the educational opportunities for adults; but it also added that partly because of the war experience more are doing so. There is still, however, a great gulf between a group of women of means, education, and social position and the great mass of women citizens; and the former are so closely associated with the interests and activities of the civic groups mentioned or with the fight for equality that wider international ties and outlooks are relatively few.

The development of trade unions among women in industry has fostered another opportunity for a civic career for women which is now reflected by the presence in the parliamentary Labour party of a small number of women in addition to those from the older governing class with whom co-operation is achieved in policies concerning health, education, poor relief, and morals. But the political emancipation of women does not challenge the fundamental civic attitudes; by doubling the electorate, it probably strengthens for the present the party machines and requires of these at most some consideration of policies that are of special interest to women.

Nor can one find that the profound changes in social organization reflected in the family and moral codes which are sometimes prophesied for Russia, Germany, or America, suggested by contemporary tendencies in Britain. The activities of the women's sections of the parties set forth here in so much detail, are an evidence of the conventionality of the political interests of the British women at the present time. The Labour party, indeed, is reluctant to discuss the "birth control problem" because of the religious interests that would be offended, in spite of the agitation inspired by the "intellectuals." Political and economic radicalism has not made any serious inroads upon the acceptance of the traditional social and moral codes. While these are discussed in the contemporary drama, poetry, and fiction (despite some censorship), it must be remembered that this was also true of nineteenth-century literature from Shelley through Meredith and Hardy to Wells. Nevertheless the idea of the personality of women has been extended and enriched, and of this the vote is a symbol; for the political opportunity has come after the effort of the pioneers to secure public consideration of social and economic evils.

Much of the stimulus for their entrance into civic affairs came from the churches; and the ethical influences which marked the pioneer activities are still strong in social work, and in much party activity. Will the churches continue to be the source of civic inspiration as they have been in the past century? Will there be new societies and associations to which idealism which formerly found expression in religious institutions will redirect itself? These considerations mean much not only to the churches, but in the securing of a new place for women in the national life.

NOTES

1. *Essays in Rebellion* (London, 1913), p. 242. There is a general discussion of the position of women in English life in *Women in English Life,* by Georgiana Hill (London, 1896); but certain memoirs and biographies supply specific illustrations, notably *The Wives of the Prime Ministers* by Elizabeth Lee; E. F. Benson's *Our Family Affairs;* Percy Lubbock's *Earlham;* Ramsay MacDonald's life of Ethel MacDonald; the biographies of George Edwards, J. Kier Hardie, Robert Smillie; Lady Aberdeen's memoirs; Mrs. Webb's *My Apprenticeship;* the biographies of Florence Nightingale and Octavia Hill; *The Autobiography of Margot Asquith,* and *The Letters of Gertrude Bell.*

2. See *The Differentiation of Curricula between the Sexes in Secondary Schools,* a Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, 1923, for a general historical discussion of the education of women in Great Britain and an analysis of the schemes of studies in the secondary schools. Among the memoirs describing the movement for higher education that are useful are those of Jane Harrison and Emily Davies.

3. See the Webbs' *Industrial Democracy* and the *History of Trade Unionism* for a discussion of women in the labor movement. Mrs. Courtney's *Recollected in Tranquillity* and Miss Rose Squires' *Thirty Years in the Public Service* give material on women in the Civil Service and in business.

4. See the report cited in note 2.

5. Miss Jane Harrison, in her *Reminiscences of a Student* has given us a glimpse of women's university life, that at Cambridge. It is significant that

there is no literature for the school and college life of British women comparable to the great number of novels and memoirs which deal with the public schools and colleges for men.

6. *The Public Life,* I, 171.

7. An account of the suffrage struggle which is, of course, sympathetic with the militants is to be found in Mrs. Pankhurst's *My Own Story.* In Sir Harry Johnston's *Mrs. Warren's Daughter,* there is an interesting picture of the suffrage movement, and of the effort of a university woman to enter the legal profession.

8. See the *Report of the Sixth Annual Conference,* Women's Unionist Organisation (London, 1925).

9. The *Handbook for Women Organizers and Workers* describes the organization of the women in the party and provides instructions and advice to officials and workers. Among the duties of committee members is that of reporting "all information regarding Socialist, Communist or other dangerous propaganda"; included in advice to study circles is the following: "The British Empire, British Industrial Organization, British Party Politics, British Imperial Government, British Local Government, the British attitude in face of the Continental Socialism and Communism now so rife in the country, are all matters on which the modern Englishwoman is bound to know something, and to know it clearly." A monthly magazine, *Home and Politics,* is published. In the last few pages of each issue there are accounts of the various local organizations, generally devoted to card parties, receptions, trips, garden parties, lectures, etc.

The work of the Ladies' Grand Council of the Primrose League is closely associated with that of this organization, and junior organizations for young people are also fostered. The social position of many members of the party gives it an advantage in arranging its social functions and in securing the use of famous estates for garden parties and visits.

10. See especially *Organisation for Liberal Women,* by Hester Holland, an organizer for the Federation. A monthly magazine, the *Liberal Woman's News,* is published. The most notable difference in contents from that published by the Conservatives, perhaps, is the absence of stress upon the empire and the necessity for buying empire goods.

11. The older parties have had an advantage in that there has been a tradition of feminine influence and activity in the party long before the vote was secured; as against this, the Labour party has had the benefit of the experience of women organizers in the trade-union movement, and the earlier association of their party with the cause of suffrage. A monthly magazine, the *Labour Woman,* is published. It is naturally more given over to a discussion of industrial conditions than the magazines of the other two parties. It has many other features, however, such as baby competitions, reports of local organizations, etc. The problems of international relations and agitation for peaceful relations with other states are also characteristic of the subject matter of this magazine. In discussing party questions with various active workers among the women's groups in the party, it appeared to us that while the "intellectuals" and paid workers stressed the more abstract aspects of the doctrines of the party especially on the side of international and industrial policy, the working-women, wives, daughters, and similar representatives of rank and file members of the working-classes, obtained in the movement some opportunities for social relationships and expression. At the same time they were very active in party work such as canvassing.

12. We found that many party workers among the men were in agreement that the women had brought to party life great industry, activity, and enthusiasm, and that this found expression not alone in the social activities of the party (this had, indeed, been true of them before the vote was secured) but also in a fresh interest in problems confronting Great Britain and the empire and in means

whereby party policy might be more carefully considered through conferences, discussions, summer schools, and publications. The more doctrinaire or dogmatic views of some party leaders or organizers were often questioned by these new members who frequently bring the daily experience of the housewife, social worker, teacher, or trade-union working-woman to bear upon party attitudes and policies. Women play a considerable part at the Conservative and Liberal national conferences as well as at the conferences of the Independent Labour party. The great strength of the larger unions at the Labour party conference greatly overshadows the relatively weak representation of women there, and there has been some resentment by Labour party women at the actions taken which relate especially to women, notably on the question of supplying information concerning birth-control through the public health centers.

13. I make special reference to this organization for two reasons. One is the fact that it represents a bringing over to the mother-country of a movement which was first instituted overseas, in Canada. The second is the fact that in the rural districts the women's institutes are generally the most important single agency of social organization and of adult education among women. The *Times* of September 25, 1925, had a brief, descriptive article on the women's institutes. There is now available also *The Story of the Women's Institute Movement.*

14. The Controller-in-Chief, Mrs. Flora Drummond, was formerly active in the suffrage movement. The Guild has been active in stimulating opinion among women in opposition to strikes, and organized a demonstration in London in the spring of 1926 against the threatened Coal Strike. It has also agitated for the buying of empire products. The *Times* of September 17, 1925, contains a news item describing its conference in London during Wembley Week.

15. In the report for 1924 it is stated that "As in recent years, our energies have been largely devoted to combating the subversive and demoralizing influence of the Communist Sunday Schools, which are a powerful agency in corrupting the youth of our cities and are designed to undermine alike the religion and patriotism of our people. Our appeal is now, as always, to the patriotic instincts of the women of the nation; and everything which tends to promote the happiness of the people and to consolidate the fabric of the Empire is, therefore, within the scope of our operations."

A new organization of women is the Women's Empire Parliamentary Association, formed to promote "British and Colonial trade and commerce," and thus to "counteract the extremist tendencies of the day." The British Empire Exhibition had a women's section, whose president in 1925 was the Dutchess of York.

16. Mrs. Swanwick, who is prominent in this work, is active also in the Union for Democrative Control and was named as a deputy delegate to the League of Nations Assembly by the MacDonald government.

CHAPTER XIII

CIVIC INFLUENCES OF RELIGION

Christianity has more nominal followers to-day than ever before in its history, and possibly there are more sincere and devout Christians—Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant—in the twentieth century than in any earlier century. But it is manifest to us who live in the West that Christianity for enormous numbers of people has become an adjunct to nationalism. The Orthodox Churches of the East, the Armenian Church, the Coptic Church, the remnant of the Nestorian Church, are auxiliaries to the nationalist fervour and nationalist endeavor. Westminster Abbey is a holy fane of the Church of England and, much more so, of British Nationalism; and the Protestant Cathedrals of England and Scotland and Ireland, and of Prussia too, are adorned not so plentifully or so conspicuously with the statues of Christian saints as with the images of national heroes, military or naval, and with national battle-flags. In France, the sacred remains of Napoleon Bonaparte lie close to a Catholic altar, and the magnificent Christian church of Sainte Geneviève has been transformed into the National Pantheon.—CARLETON HAYES, *Essays on Nationalism.*

English history is a record of startling achievements ushered in by silent revolutions. Without Wiclif and the Lollards there would have been no Reformation; without the Puritans no Revolution; without Wesley and the Evangelicals no abolition of the slave trade and no Factory Acts; without the philosophic Radicals no colonial self-government; without Thomas Arnold and the public school system no Indian Civil Service; without the forty years' devoted labour of the elementary teacher no Kitchener's Army.—A. E. ZIMMERN, *Nationality and Government.*

If you want to get into the last century, to feel its pulses throb beneath your fingers, be content sometimes to leave the letters of Horace Walpole unturned, resist the drowsy temptation to waste your time over the learned triflers who sleep in the seventeen volumes of Nichols—nay, even deny yourself your annual reading of Boswell or your biennial retreat with Sterne, and ride up and down the country with the greatest force of the eighteenth century in England. No man lived nearer the centre than John Wesley, neither Clive nor Pitt, neither Mansfield nor Johnson. You cannot cut him out of our national life.—AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, *Essays and Addresses.*

In their attitude toward Europe the British people have been impregnated with the spirit of Protestantism, with its official idealism, its way of treating all questions from a moral point of view, its love of laying down the law, its conviction that Protestant Britain is the salt of the earth, and finally its unconscious phariseeism which persuades the British that they are doing their duty when they are really serving their own interests.—ANDRÉ SIEGFRIED, *Post-War Britain.*

A hundred years hence, in estimating the intellectual forces of our own time, a future historian may have to search not so much in the records of the churches as among the obscure proceedings of working-class propagandist organizations, and to trace the relations of those proceedings to the conclusions of the twentieth century biologists and psychologists, and of the historians and poets who in each generation undertake the ever-fresh duty of reinterpreting the past.—GRAHAM WALLAS, Introductory Note to Halévy's *History of England in 1815.*

The history of Britain is filled with records of religious controversies. Does this not refute the claims of religion as a nationalizing force? It offers, on the contrary, evidence of the importance which powerful groups have attached to the control of religious institutions. The Tudor monarchy, capping the structure of the New Nationalism, broke with Rome; and there followed a long and bitter struggle for the determination of the organization of the church. In Scotland, indeed, the church supplied a stage upon which the drama of nationalism might be played; in Wales, the dissenting churches kept alive some portion of the national culture through language, music, and literature. Through the publication of the Bible in the native language, something of a national culture could be spread through all classes in England.

Nor were these issues and interests slight and ephemeral. Down into the nineteenth century the struggle for Catholic emancipation persisted; not until the middle of that century were the university appointments and places at the older universities made available to dissenters; public office was long denied legally to those not members of the Church of England; in our own day, it has remained for Parliament to cut away some last vestiges of Catholic legal disabilities. The controversy over the disestablishment of the church in Ireland and in Wales was bitter; the conflicts in the churches in Scotland are not yet wholly adjusted. When the Oxford movement lingered on in a Catholic revival, prime ministers took to print or the platform their passionate defenses of the national religion against the "encroachments of Rome." Early in the present century, a new bitterness was injected into political controversy in the passage of the Education Act, the rumblings and thunder over which have not wholly died. And who shall say how much of the struggle over Home Rule for Ireland was fathered by religious prejudice and the attachments to sects?

And now again these divisions are reappearing. The rise of the "Anglo-Catholic" party in the Church of England seems to many people to threaten the Protestant character of that church.[1] Not only opponents within the church itself are alarmed, but members of the free churches point out that since the question affects the national church, it is germane to them also. The National Church League has been organized to oppose the new tendencies; it asserts:[2]

> That a strong central organization is needed for the maintenance and defense in the Church of England of those great principles of New Testament Christianity which are of the essence of her Reformed character is admitted by all to whom those principles are dear, and who have any knowledge of the forces by which they are at the present moment assailed. The steady growth of Romanism and Ritualism, the rapid spread of Romanising literature, and the development of sacerdotal agencies constitute a grave danger to the Church of England. . . . .

Perhaps it is significant that a lay leader in this league is a prominent conservative statesman, one of the bitter opponents of the Irish Home Rule Act in 1914, and a leader in the effort to repress Communist agitation. In a pamphlet published by the League, too, is the following statement:

> What is wrong with the idea of a National Church? Most people have heard something about Internationalism. In the Scriptures there is the prophecy of "neither Jew nor Greek." In the story of the Church there is the noble claim of the word "Catholic," comprehensive, pervading everywhere, embracing all. Among the nations of the world there is the hope, nay more, the possible reality of an International bond. This is intelligible enough, but it is questionable whether Internationalism can or ought to destroy national feeling. And the policy of depreciating Nationalism, which is a wholesome and natural instinct, is scarcely to be commended. In the Labour movement we can see the tendency of Internationalism. It is not encouraging. It does not promise security or peace. And in the Church there is the peculiar drift

> of Catholicism. The idea may be glorious, but practically it means the surrender of National instincts, customs, rules. It cannot be achieved without becoming subject to Roman Catholicism. Sooner or later the independence of the National Church must be merged in the domination of this International system. And consequently, with due regard for all that can be urged in favour of the International idea, we prefer the Church of England to remain the National Church, the Church for English people, the mother Church for the millions who enjoy the freedom and protection of the British Empire.

Why does this agitation among clergy and laity, or the activity of a special organization arise?

Unquestionably the threat which the Anglo-Catholics give to customary practices and ideas in the church has stimulated a defense among moderates and the low-church group. The new sacramentalism employs weapons of the new psychology, of aesthetic appeal, and the longing for a firmer foundation in the shifting and tumultuous life of modern Christendom.[3] Again, we must remember that unlike the universities and the professions, the Church of England is closely subjected to the Crown and Parliament in its higher government—did not Disraeli, indeed, refer to the church as "Parliamentary Religion" in *Lothair?* Many members, therefore, desire to extend its claims to autonomy and frankly challenge the constitutional control over the church. Thus with the raising of a direct issue in the attempt to revise the prayer book, all parties have rallied their forces. What is significant, for our purpose, is the emphasis placed both by churchmen and by dissenters upon the defense of a national system against any effort to water down the Reformation settlement. The governing classes of England, educated in the past in the older universities, have there been influenced throughout English history by the controversies of clerics; the purging of the colleges in the interest of Puritan or Catholic, the struggles over the Oxford Tracts (followed by bitter controversies within the universities, as Jowett's life illustrates), the stream of clerical Fellows into higher church appointments, have for centuries made issues within the church a part of the national political life. And not the least difficult of the powers to be adjusted between a party cabinet and a king who is the head of the church has been the control of ecclesiastical patronage, as the letters of Queen Victoria assure us. So, too, the Scotch universities are the apex of a system of education which John Knox envisaged; a system which, based upon a school in every parish, has supplied the Scottish pulpits with a highly educated clergy, and left its imprint on Scottish thought and ideals.

The Committee which reported on *The Teaching of English* to the Board of Education stated:[4]

> We have three plain facts before us. First, the Authorized Version, though a translation from an eastern original, is a true part of English literature. . . . . Second, it is historically true that for five centuries and more no other English book has been so widely read in this island or so closely connected with our national life, or has left so strong a mark upon the mass of our literature. Third, that at the present time the Bible is probably less widely read and less directly influential in our life and literature than it has been at any time since the Reformation.

Upon the youth of Britain the influences of religious societies has been expended through the school system in the past. With the development of a system of state schools, this influence has waned; yet religious instruction remains as a part of the system under the arrangements provided in successive Acts and through the continued administration of a part of the system through church schools. Most of the great public schools are, indeed, of church foundation; in the rural areas of Britain, the clergyman is still the most influential person to take any continuing interest in the school. The great majority of these in the Church of England have been, in the past, members of the Conservative party; among the dissenters, members of the Liberal party; more recently, many of the latter have joined the Labour party. But the affiliation of the Church of England with the Conservative party is still invited by the presence, in the House of Lords, of Bishops, and by the fear of unfriendly legislation. Thus in the educational system the influence of the Church of England has been a conservative one, and the attacks of clergymen upon the Labour party because of its interest in Soviet Russia, where the Russian church was disestablished, and because of the "Socialist Sunday Schools," might well appeal to many persons influenced by their earlier schooling.

This, however, is to oversimplify the situation.

> Medieval Christianity, the other great steadying and constructive force in the past of Europe, was not unrepresented in the governing class. The religious revival, which touched this world at first only on the margin, had this in common with the spirit of Aquinas, that its standard was not the reigning standard of profit. Wilberforce, denouncing the Slave Trade, was the pupil of that tradition. Shaftesbury,

the greatest name in that revival, little as he liked some aspects of medieval Christianity, looked on a world that made wealth its god, with the stern eyes of a noble and passionate monk. The tractarian movement recalled a Church with a wider and more spiritual horizon than the well-fed and self-satisfied Church of the eighteenth century.[5]

It was through the church, and the work of the parish of St. Jude's in the East End of London, that Samuel Barnett founded Toynbee Hall; Charles Kingsley with his "muscular Christianity" and, with Maurice and Thomas Hughes, his "Christian Socialism," helped to change the thought of his time on social questions; and it is striking that so many of the members of the Anglo-Catholic movement are also social reformers. The pioneer social surveys of Booth in London and of Rowntree in York are monuments to the ideal of civic obligation which religious societies have emphasized. From the adult schools of the various sects, especially of the Society of Friends, much of the present-day adult education originates; and the place occupied in the civic training of many labor leaders by lay service in chapels and churches has been noted. If the contributions of the churches to the educational system have instilled a fundamental attachment to certain institutions—the church, the home, the constitutional system—so, too, they have included the teaching of an obligation resting upon every individual to share in furthering opportunities for moral and civic advancement. Without this philosophy, it would seem that much of the social work, educational enterprises, and reform movements, as well as the quieter but onerous service on innumerable local boards and committees, would never have been undertaken. A striking illustration of this influence, indeed, is found in the Society of Friends. Small in numbers, so powerful has been the influence of the religious and ethical zeal of this group of men and women that one can find with difficulty a civic organization working for the ameliorization of some evil conditions in which Friends are not active; while in international relief work during and after the war, and in the support of every effort to secure international peace, the Friends have been foremost. Thus an immeasureable contribution to the idea of the good citizen has come from the churches.

That contribution, indeed, is not confined to Britain. The many missionary societies of the different religious groups have been of great importance in imperial development.[6] Missionaries have been among the explorers; missionary stations have been established in the remote regions of Africa or the Far East before the appearance of trader or soldier. Finding the encroachments of rum-dealers or the missionaries of other states threatening, aid has been called for. Commitments made in the name of religious societies have been upheld by the army and navy, by consular support, by incorporation of new areas under the British domain. The doctrine of trusteeship for backward peoples received its first blessing from such enterprises; nor, indeed, was it entirely unfounded. Letters home, the return on lecture tour of missionary officials, and creation of little pockets of British culture in a strange land, the fostering of scientific surveys by missionary reports of new regions, the national prestige from missionary explorations or influence upon native chiefs, are added contributions from the churches to the empire. Today the far-flung machinery of the churches throughout the empire is operated to stimulate emigration of the British to the newer countries. Parties are organized, families aided, immigrants welcomed in the new home, tours arranged, training-schools or courses fostered, lecturers sent about the country. Thus the churches have helped to create the sense of moral responsibility for the vast empire, for the maintenance of fundamental British conceptions of morals, "fair play" for the natives, the spread of British civilization generally. Perhaps the sole tie which will connect the new settler in Western Canada or New Zealand to his home will be the letter which he brought out from the local clergyman entitling him to a welcome from the church in the new community. In India and the Far East the challenge to the churches has been answered by the sending of numerous missionaries and the building up of a great equipment. The missionary, the official, the trader, constitute there the little *foci* of British civilization. The Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the innumerable missionary organizations of the sects, have been, throughout the empire, one channel through which British culture and influence have expanded outward, and a sense of imperial strength and responsibility has been returned, personalized and dramatized through the missionary leaders and the contest with native practices and beliefs.

The religious societies of modern times possess no more the power or influence of the great medieval church to modify in any profound way the swiftly running currents of nationalism. How far, indeed, the Roman Catholic church possesses importance as an instrument through which international interests may find expression we cannot determine; but Austrian fought against Italian in the late war, and Geneva offers a new counterpoise for Rome once more. The old Catholic families of Britain have not always been noted, too, for close attachment to ultramontanism. Yet one hears that the Roman Catholic church is perhaps the most thriving of any in Britain today, and it is clear that, as in Irish affairs before the Settlement so in the problems of the Continent today, the British Foreign Office keeps in touch with the Vatican. The presence in the Foreign Office of so many Roman Catholics makes this easier, perhaps, although it has attracted unfavorable comment from the popular press upon occasion. But probably the Roman Catholic community, like that of the Jewish financiers with their family and business connections in many European capitals, is not finally decisive in any matters of great and urgent policy which may arouse national feeling. Both groups, however, possess much beyond the average British citizen an acquaintance with the cultures of other peoples and places; there is a sophistication and urbanity there which makes them at times, perhaps, objects of perplexity and suspicion to the honest if limited-minded "patriot." Britain owes much to both for the support of the fine arts and music through informed appreciation as well as through financial aid; while the Jews especially have contributed to the foundation and endowment of research and new educational enterprises. If the international ties of Jew and Catholic snapped when the world rushed to arms, nevertheless they are in Britain a little detached from the exclusiveness and inwardness of cultural vision that mark great masses of people. Toleration, also has come: Jews have held high political posts, they are powerful in the city, they won imperial protection for the homeland. Both groups undergo a certain running criticism, a criticism which is similar to that uttered in other states and communities. Only in Glasgow—perhaps one should add Liverpool—is the clash of cultures serious. In the former city the increase of Irish Catholics has aroused the bitter antagonism of a section of the Protestants, and the alarm is raised at the possible "overwhelming" of the latter. Britain generally does not have to solve problems of cultural adjustments of a religious or national sort in her industrial cities, however, despite the easy rebukes for intolerance which she administers to other states.

The international interests and affiliations of the Society of

Friends are well known, and they have been tested by the World War. The Quakers took both the negative position of refusing military service and the positive one of aiding in war relief in many regions. They are influential far beyond their numbers in the effort to further world-peace, and their connections, through relief work or religious organization, with Central Europe, Russia and America are strong. Among recent sectarian developments, the growth of the Christian Science churches and the Theosophists is perhaps worth comment, because of the connections of the first with the American church and the influence exerted upon the movement by the *Christian Science Monitor*, and because of the presence in the second of a strain of peace and humanitarian sentiments. The various dissenting, Welsh, and Scotch churches are more strongly connected with American churches than with those of any other nations, and through a frequent interchange of clergy, the exchange of publications, association together in certain missionary efforts, and a common history in such episodes, for example, as the Puritan emigration, the Wesleyan and Whitefield American visits, and the fight against slavery, possess a strong sense of community interest. Nor are the ties of the Church of England with the empire alone. Conversations with representative leaders in the Orthodox church, and (on the part of the Anglo-Catholic wing) with Roman Catholic clerics, suggest the reaching out for a wider organization of the Christian churches, while the exchange of clergy, of literature, and journals with the American Episcopal church is constant and undoubtedly a source of influence upon the latter. Yet for all these international ties, the life of the church within the nation itself requires it to send its deepest roots into the soil of the region in which it is planted.

"The free organization of the sects," I have quoted from M. Halévy, "was the foundation of social order in England." The vast congeries of voluntary societies in Britain includes, therefore, the churches. For beyond the direct influence of their teachings, the sheer mass of their activities and tasks has an importance. The business of administration, of determining policy, draw within their influence men and women of all classes.[7] Here again is a school of civic education; the selection of committees and boards and leaders; the determination of programs; the raising of finances; the maintenance of traditions and codes—all these give to the participants the sense of "belonging." The chapels in which the poorest workingman may assert some moral leadership, in which the wrongs of the most suppressed group may find sympathy and expression, give a color to the labor movement, for example, at which Continental leaders, so often anti-clerical, are perplexed and angry. Gladstone, who would as soon prepare a pamphlet upon abstruse questions of religious belief as make a speech on Egypt, a distinguished general who conducts a Bible class for street boys, fit into no category recorded in the files of the Quai D'Orsay or the Kremlin. A distinguished jurist—Lord Shaw, for example—will devote his abilities and energy to the complexities of Scottish ecclesiastical policy; the speeches of the then F. E. Smith on Welsh disestablishment roused Chesterton to the production of one of his best satirical poems; and it is recorded that Lord Robert Cecil gained at the Washington Conference the title of "the English Savonarola." The various organs of government of the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the churches which are represented in the Free Church Council and the other sects constitute another portion of the larger framework of government of Britain; through them, another group of citizens is drawn into the national civic life.

Through the more intensive aspects of sectarianism the citizen may be led to bigotry; and religious bigotry is hardly conducive to national sentiment where substantial numbers of people are dispersed among different churches. But the Church of England possesses, as a national church, certain places of historic interest with strong appeals to the patriot. Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral illustrate this;[8] and it comes as something of a shock to many people to have a great poet refused a memorial on religious and moral grounds, so fixed is the feeling that these great buildings are essentially national, rather than ecclesiastical, possessions. St. Giles', in Edinburgh, belongs to more than a religious society; and every ancient cathedral in Britain possesses some memorials of military, naval, or civic leaders or of famous writers. The participation of church and state at the coronation ceremonies, at royal funeral ceremonies, at dedications of public buildings, at the blessing of regimental colors, makes a more impressive civic ritual. And despite the great numbers of citizens who are not members of the Church of England, the acquaintance with the ritual and services of that church gained in the public school or college is often renewed overseas on the imperial front. One may read, in memoirs and letters, of the isolated official in Irak or India coming up to a military post for the week-end, and writing home of his pleasure at renewing again dinner dress and English customs, and at hearing the chaplain read, on Sunday morning, the Service. Each parish church contains some memorial to those who have fallen in the empire's wars. Ancient priories and religious houses remind the community of the historic associations; often they are built into the fabric of modern schools or colleges. "The sense of the past" subtly invades the practices of the present.

One will find, in a collection of biographical studies of *Christian Social Reformers of the Nineteenth Century*, the inclusion of John Howard, William Wilberforce, Lord Shaftesbury, Charles Dickens, Florence Nightingale, John Ludlow, William Morris, George Cadbury, Henry Scott Holland, James Kier Hardie. Who, in the twentieth century, will replace them? Will their successors be so identified with the church and with religious attitudes? "The proportion of distinguished men and women contributed from among the families of the clergy can only be described as enormous," writes Havelock Ellis in his study of British genius.[9] Yet one is told by members of different sects in Britain that the quality of the men entering the clergy has lately declined, although there are notable exceptions. Will the rectories continue to supply so disproportionate an amount of leadership peculiarly imbued with attachment to the national culture, and subjected to the powerful influences of the public school and university?

There are social movements arising out of the churches today, as formerly in British life. The Industrial Christian Fellowship, bourgeois to the Communist, Bolshevik to the reactionary, attempts to discover a Christian statesmanship for industry.[10] The Student Christian Movement[11] has administered a great system of relief for European students in the days of reconstruction, and conducts discussion groups in the universities that attract, one learns, a number of students. A religious fellowship founded in the trenches, "Toc H," has spread throughout the empire and fosters social work. A conference on Christian politics, economics, and citizenship, meeting in Birmingham in 1924[12] and including many different sects in its membership, has established committees who have prepared reports on many civic problems—education, the relations of the sexes, crime, international relations, industry and property, politics and citizenship, the home. These reports are, say their authors, "an honest effort to see our corporate life steadily and whole from the standpoint of Christianity; and as such may help to bring to many a clearer and more consistent understanding of that Kingdom for which the Church longs and labours and prays." In these reports the responsibility of the Christian citizen for active participation in local politics, adult education movements, and social service is stressed. While the number of settlements has not greatly increased, the National Council of Social Service records the formation of many local community councils, often instigated by a church society. Nor is there on the horizon at present any continuation of the bitter struggle of the churches over education which has been present in the past.

Nevertheless one has the sense of a great change taking place, a change recorded only here and there as yet, but fraught with many consequences. The younger generation of Labour party members, for example, would seem to secure in that movement much of the expression and varied activity that formerly was found in the local chapel. Its "socials," "whist drives," dramatics, vacation camps, or summer schools, replace much that was to be had in the church programs. In adult education movements and educational settlements, the enthusiasm and social idealism of others is directed. The peace movement, in which the Society of Friends has been so powerful, harnesses the zeal of others. So much, indeed, does the fervor of the Friends pour itself into social movements that the elders of the Society have been a little displeased;[13] while for every move made by the Industrial Christian Fellowship a counter attack comes from church dignitaries or irate laymen. Will, in the future, the Labour party man who combines religious devoutness, like Lansbury or Tawney,[14] with his social philosophy be something of an anachronism? Will careerists, on the one hand, and men and women consciously critical of the churches on the other, dominate its thought more and more? There are signs—witness the discussion in Parliament lately over a Blasphemous Teachings Bill—that there are people of some political power who fear the teachings of the "Communist Sunday Schools" among the children. Britain has not, indeed, really faced the implications in her educational system of much of the new psychology. She has criticized sharply the intellectual absurdities and repressions of religious societies in other states—the Fundamentalists in America, for example. But the intrenchment of religious teaching in her schools, and the absence of any considerable teaching anywhere in Britain of a mechanistic psychology alike have postponed the time of meeting the new issues.

She fought through the problem, she feels, in the Darwinian controversies of a half-century ago; the new claims of strange "behavioristic" philosophies or the indecencies of a Viennese psychology are not science: they are aberations. Thus she is at once convinced of her possession of complete educational freedom in these matters, while assured of the maintenance of her established institutions of church, home, and moral systems through the privileged position that religious instruction occupies in her schools. Even her scientists have hastened to assure her that however far one penetrates into the secrets of matter, the more inviolate the realm of the spirit remains. Controversies which might rend and disrupt educational systems in other modern states have thus far been assuaged or avoided.

The curious compromises of the British constitutional system are nowhere more startling than in the relations of church and state. A monarch is the titular head of one church in one area; of another north of the border. The officials of the Church of England are named by a small committee of politicians whose securing of political power rests upon party issues. Sects which have, in past times, taken up arms against one another, have supplied, later, a source of national strength in their training great numbers of men and women for self-government and the acceptance of self-imposed codes; or have profoundly modified the course of state policy through their teachings and agitation. The activities of missionaries have not only added new areas to the empire, but have provided a moral justification for its existence. Ceremonies and ritual, the great cathedrals and humble but ancient parish churches supply tangible dramatization or witness to the national aspirations. Good works and civic ideals urged by the churches influence Tory, Liberal, or Labourite. Thus an attack upon the fundamentals of British policy may be not only a threat to British interests: it may be an attack upon a moral code. Meanwhile Wren's glory remains in the city, and the silent teachings of Abbey or Cathedral continue. A committee of "Copec" asserts:

> The state is ordained by God for the Purpose of binding men together in a justly ordered social life, and its authority ought to be loyally accepted by Christians. The duties of citizenship are, therefore, a sacred obligation for Christian people. The authority of the State is limited by its functions, but ought only to be challenged in the name of God, and Christians must not take that name in vain.[15]

NOTES

1. A reviewer in *The Nation and Athenæum*, December 12, 1915, remarks in a review entitled "Anglo-Catholicism" that "The prominence (of the Anglo-Catholics) in the Church is out of all proportion to their numbers. The training of the clergy is in their hands; they control the theological colleges; they hold the Oxford Divinity Chairs; they have revolutionized the Chapel services at Cambridge; they 'squeeze the bishops,' who, with few exceptions, come to heel at their call." See also the *Spectator*, July 25, 1925, for an article entitled "The Bishops' Problem" and the *Times* for October 20, 1925, for its leader on "The Bishops' Task." Bishop Gore has presented a case for the Anglo-Catholics in his pamphlet *The Anglo-Catholic Movement To-Day* (London, 1925). Since this was written, the controversy over the prayer book has let loose floods of writings on these matters. For a discussion of the political status of the church in the modern state, see J. N. Figgis, *Churches in the Modern State.*

2. The publications, including its journal the *Church Gazette*, are issued from its headquarters in Wine Office Court.

3. For a critical discussion of the church in England to-day see Professor Wallas' *Our Social Heritage*, the chapter on "The Church."

4. *The Teaching of English in England*, Report of a Departmental Committee to the President of the Board of Education (1921), p. 341.

5. *The Rise of Modern Industry*, J. L. and B. Hammond (London, 1925), p. 253–54.

6. See on this *Imperialism and World Politics*, by Parker T. Moon (New York, 1927), especially pp. 63, 561. At the Church Congress at Eastbourne in 1925 there was a special discussion of race problems in which, among others, Sir Frederick Lugard and Lord Willingdon participated.

7. The structure of government in the Church of England is described, for example, in *The Church Councillor's Guide*, and the work of the new Church Assembly in *The First Five Years of the Church Assembly* (Church House, 1925).

8. The Roman Catholic church has published pamphlets in which the historic connections of Westminster Abbey and the Tower with that church in pre-Reformation times is described. The Armistice tide appeal to the nation in 1925 by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Moderator of the Free Church Council is an interesting example of a civic intervention of the churches.

9. *A Study of British Genius* (new ed.; Boston, 1926), p. 68.

10. This movement has been under the fire of the *Morning Post* and the *Patriot.*

11. For the work of this organization see *Rebuilding Europe*, by Ruth Rouse (London, 1925), and a pamphlet by Hugh Martin entitled *The Student Christian Movement*, 32 Russell Square, London.

12. The several reports of the movement (called popularly "Copec") are published by Longmans, Green & Co., London.

13. See the pamphlets entitled "The Society of Friends" by Edward Grubb and "Whither Are the Friends Drifting?" from the *Friends' Quarterly Review.* Other religious influences in social reform are discussed in *Chartism and the Churches*, by H. V. Faulkner (New York, 1916) "Columbia University Series," and *The Social Catholic Movement in Great Britain*, by G. P. McEntee (New York, 1927).

14. See, for example, two books by Mr. Tawney: *The Sickness of an Acquisitive Society* and *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.*

15. "Copec" *Report on Politics and Citizenship* (London, 1924), p. 111.

CHAPTER XIV

SOME DIRECT AND INDIRECT EXPRESSIONS OF CIVIC ATTITUDES

And when I ask myself what I mean by England, when I think of England when I am abroad, England comes to me through my various senses—through the ear, through the eye, and through certain imperishable scents. I will tell you what they are, and there may be those among you who feel as I do. The sounds of England—the tinkle of the hammer on the anvil in the country smithy, the corncrake on a dewy morning, the sound of the scythe against the whetstone, and the sight of a plough team coming over the brow of a hill, the sight that has been seen in England since England was a land, and may be seen in England long after the Empire has perished, and every works in England has ceased to function, for centuries the one eternal sight of England. The wild anemones in the woods in April, the last load at night of hay being drawn down a lane as the twilight comes on, when you can scarcely distinguish the figures of the horses as they take it home to the farm, and, above all, most subtle, most penetrating and most moving, the smell of wood smoke coming up in an autumn evening, or the smell of the scutch fires: that wood smoke that our ancestors, tens of thousands of years ago, must have caught on the air when they were coming home with the result of the day's forage, when they were still nomads, and when they were still roaming the forests and the plains of the Continent of Europe. These things strike down into the very depths of our nature, and touch the chords that go back to the beginning of time and the human race, but they are chords that with every year of our life sound a deeper note in our innermost being.—Stanley Baldwin, *On England.*

Our Rhine, our king's frontier, is no Thames but the royal sweep of seven oceans. The waters of our baptism flow past Dover through the Straits of Hercules, down past the Cape of Storms, to divide again to reach, to coast, to claim Hindostan, Australia. There (if you will have it so) runs our Rhine: our Bonn and Bingen and Drachenfels are the Heads of Sydney, the ramparts of Quebec, the citadel rock of Gibraltar:

"rock which Hercules
And Goth and Moor bequeathed us. At this door
England stands sentry. God! to hear the shrill
Sweet treble of her fifes upon the breeze,
And at the summons of the rock gun's roar
To see her red coats marching from the hill!"

Certainly if we turn to the body of English poetry we shall find explicit, loud mouthed patriotism even worse represented than is our pride in sea power, that particular glory of our birth and state . . . . as Piccadilly or Whitehall or his club in Pall Mall intrigues an Englishman, who yet knows all the while that these are but arteries; that for the true source that feeds them, the spirit that clarifies, he must seek home to a green nook of his youth in Yorkshire or Derbyshire, Shropshire or Kent or Devon; where the folk are slow, but there is seed-time and harvest and "pure religion breathing household laws." . . . . When you think of the real England in English poetry—of her heart, her meaning, her secret—nay even her glory—as our singers have come nearest to expressing one or the other or all of these, do you think of *Rule, Britannia* or *Ye Mariners of England?* Does not whatever is English in your heart lift rather to some casual careless line—maybe, even some foolish-seeming line such as Chaucer's

"Wite ye nat where ther stant a litel toun
Which that y-cleped is Bob-up-and-down
Under the Blee?"

Or this:

"Me liketh ever, the longer the bet
By Wingestre, that joly citè;
The town is good and well y-set,
The folk is comely for to se.
Benedicamus Domina!"

or:

"Clunton and Clunbury
Clungunford and Clun
Are the quietist places
Under the sun."

Or if it be a strip of meadow-land, with "daisies pied and violets blue": or if a village "where bells have knolled to church": or if it be but "Scarlet town where I was born": or if it be London herself, "O! Towne of townes, patrone and not compare" where John Gilpin keeps shop and Izaak Walton sallies an-angling, to stretch his legs up Tottenham . . . . it is thus, and incurably thus, that we see England. . . . . Other nations extend, or would extend, their patriotism over larger spaces superficially; ours (or so much of it as, in Meredith's phrase, is "accepted of song") ever cuts down through the strata for its well-springs, intensifies itself upon that which, untranslatable to the foreigner, is comprised for us in a single easy word—Home. We do not, in our true hours—as all our glorious poetry attests—brag of England as a world power, actual or potential. Blame it who will upon our insularity, we do habitually narrow and intensify our national passion upon the home and the hearths now to be defended. And I say this, who said just now that our Rhine was seven seas.—SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH, *Studies in Literature.*

I could not see the Embassador in his coach; but his attendants in their habits and fur caps very handsome, comely men, and most of them with hawkes upon their fists to present to the King. But Lord! to see the absurd nature of Englishmen, that cannot forbear laughing and jeering at everything that looks strange.—SAMUEL PEPYS, *Diary,* October 27, 1662.

"It requires a certain greatness of soul," wrote Joseph Conrad, "to interpret patriotism worthily—or else a sincerity of feeling denied to the vulgar refinement of modern thought which cannot understand the august simplicity of a sentiment proceeding from the very nature of things and men." Yet it is this "very nature of things and men" which the student of society yearns to explore and appraise. Speculation concerning the nature of a national culture is, perhaps, the most unchecked and unmitigated of all social theorizing: it is a game at which not two or three alone, but all can play. Yet the rules are changing; for the tentacles of rapid communication would seem to squeeze out of nations the nuances of difference in ways of living, and there are those who would escape from the fate of standardization of life to the dubious security of a return to an equally artificial separateness. Chesterton's *Napoleon of Notting Hill,* indeed, with his rousing of the boroughs to a fierce indigenous life, did not take the inevitable step; if borough is to arm against borough, why not parish against parish?

It might give literal color to a gray and flat surface of social institutions if one could describe truthfully a contemporary British national costume, or achitecture, or even diet. ("They have three vegetables, but two of them are cabbage," wrote Ambassador Page.) True, other nations might reject the diet, and Italy and France have invaded Soho even though the afternoon tea still reigns supreme. Certain requirements compel one, however, to admit the presence of the common form of dress throughout Christendom; national costume, at least, has gone. Nor would the British claim that a separate national style of architecture is being created today; not even the older ones, the British modifications of Gothic or Renaissance importations in past centuries, have been faithfully followed or adapted always, and there is lament that ugly houses replace the thatched cottage of the countryside. With a few notable exceptions—the new Liverpool Cathedral, Adelaide House in London—contemporary British architecture remains literally undistinguished, while the old Regent's Street, about which a certain sentimental feeling had grown up, has been exchanged for the harsh and heavy imperialism of the new. In certain great country houses, in old schools and colleges, guildhalls or religious houses of the Middle Ages, the castles that survive, or blocks like the Adelphi Terrace or Somerset House in London or the Queen Square or the New Town in Edinburgh, the past still appeals to the present to remind the future of its share in the life of the nation.[1] Sir Almeric Fitzroy writes:

> Chatsworth is a very impressive place. The magnificence of the house, the pomp of its surroundings, the treasures it contains, the recollections it revives of much that was best in English public life during many dark and devious years of national history, all combine to the production of a very notable effect. There is a suggestion about it, as of its owner (the late Duke of Devonshire), of greatness by sheer force of a necessary tradition; and surely there is something in these ancestral homes of the English aristocracy which makes the public influence natural, not to say inevitable. . . . . We spent Sunday at Arundel, a place where the traditions of a stately and reverent life still survive. The castle has been restored by the present owner with a scrupulosity of sentiment it is impossible to praise too highly. The assimilation of the spirit of the past has taken the place of the sterile reproduction of its letter, with the result of elevating and subduing the mind to the reception of the most living lessons of history. No more fitting fabric could, indeed, enshrine the story of the great house, for centuries feudal Earls of Arundel, an honour transmitted, with the ancient heritage of the FitzAlans, to the son of the Duke of Norfolk who suffered under Queen Elizabeth for his ambitious intrigues in behalf of her imprisoned rival and heir, and on none could the glories of both lines have so proudly devolved as on Henry, 15th Duke of Norfolk and 26th Earl of Arundel.

One may catch, through certain letters of Henry James, or the sketches of his *English Hours*, the impressions of the old houses and cathedrals upon a mind already attuned to receive the subtlest tones and pitches. He wrote his father of a walk to Worcester:

> As I neared the good old town I saw the great Cathedral tower, high and square, rise far into the cloud-dappled blue. And going further yet I entered the town and lounged about the close and gazed my fill at that most soul-sustaining sight—the waning afternoon, far aloft

on the broad perpendicular field of the Cathedral spire—tasted, too, as deeply, of the peculiar stillness and repose of the close—saw a ruddy English lad come out and lock the door of the old foundation school which marries its heavy gothic walls to the basement of the church, and carry the vast big key into one of the still canonical houses—and stood wondering as to the effect on a man's mind of having in one's boyhood haunted the Cathedral shade as a King's scholar and yet kept ruddy with much cricket in misty meadows by the Severn.

"Kept ruddy with much cricket!" "The playing fields of Eton," indeed, have been a substitute for the Continental systems of compulsory military training; and it is not wholly irrelevant, perhaps, that with the disarmament of Germany has come the great increase in athletics there, extending to the taking over of the week-end habit. The provision of adequate playing-fields for the boys of the working-classes has taken on something of the aspect of a civic crusade, hallowed by a gift of the King of a tract from the royal paddock at Windsor itself.[2] For it is on the field, it is believed, that British youth learn "to play the game," so that in after life codes will be observed lest by infracting them it will be said that one is not "playing cricket." Yet despite the effort to secure an acquaintance of classes in youth through mission and public-school camps, or the coaching of the local urchins by public-school or college athletes, in sports, too, something of a rigidity of class is interposed. It is "gentlemen" versus "players"; and the mass of workingmen take their recreation at the great football matches, the middle class and the upper class at more exclusive sports—tennis, boating, golf, polo, yachting, hunting, although in Scotland golf is a game in which most classes participate. The survival of hunting is an interesting relic of the former training for the life of a member of the ruling class, as polo remains the sport of army officers; and the "blooding" of the youth in at his first "kill" might send the advocates of culture diffusion into the wilds of Africa on a search for tribal initiatory rites. Dean Inge writes:

> It is not accident that the Englishman expresses his deepest moral convictions in the terms of a game. . . . . "To play cricket" has become a synonym for honorable and straight-forward team play in any relation of life. . . . . This spirit of fair play, which in the public schools, at any rate, is absorbed as the most inviolable of traditions, has stood our race in good stead in the professions, and especially in the administration of dependencies, where the obvious desire of the officials to deal justly and see fair play in disputes between natives and Europeans

> has compensated for a want of sympathetic understanding which has kept the English strangers in lands of alien culture. All these qualities which have been enumerated as illustrating the best side of the national character may be included in the ideal type of a gentleman, the lay-religion of the English, and the foundation of the ethics which they really admire and try to practise. . . . . The tradition is best preserved in the public schools and universities.

It is, clearly, this civic by-product (or is it the direct objective?) which educators are anxious to extend into the newer secondary schools; and so formal a scheme as that of the Boy Scouts, for example, lacks the deeper roots of the older tradition. The effort to extend the facilities for sports to all classes also has its civic implications; and one wonders, in Britain, how much sports generally serve as a release and escape for great numbers of people of little means. In the great industrial centers few can participate, but many can look on and bet, or buy the racing or "cup tie" finals of the newspapers. In this negative sense of crowding out other possible civic interests, the time and money given to commercial sport are important.[3] The cultivation of allotments, of back-yard gardens, or even of the window boxes, may mitigate this passive and vicarious recreation for many, and where space permits—especially in rural communities or mining villages—cricket is popular in better-to-do classes. British sports have long been a great export commodity; and in the overseas British communities, with the custom of afternoon tea and the ritual of the church, they have helped to preserve the atmosphere of the homeland and the identity of the group. The biographer[4] of Michael Collins, the late Irish leader, records the opposition of Collins when a young man living in London to the playing of soccer by the Irish club of which he was a member, since he preached the doctrine of "no Soccer for Gaels." He adds:

> Those who may think it narrow-minded to introduce national prejudices into sport should remember that at the time one of the deadliest foes of Irish Nationalism, one of the most insidious forces that threatened the Irish-Ireland ideal, was what Collins at a later date called the "peaceful penetration" of Ireland by English games and amusements, and the social consequences they brought in their train.

But perhaps this is a mistaken view, and what Collins and his colleagues really objected to was, if defeating an English team, to be informed that his opponents played for the love of the sport and not to win!

There is a certain ceremonial of the national sports of Britain as impressive, in its way, as Empire Day—and perhaps more popularly recognized. Derby Day, Ascot, the opening day of grouse shooting in August, the Cup Finals in football, create their stir of interest which ripples out, by cable and later by illustrated journals, to the overseas empire; and English waiters in Mid-West America confide for weeks in advance their hopes concerning the boat race between Oxford and Cambridge. The *Morning Post* on August 13, 1925, reported:

> London hotels yesterday served the first grouse of the season. Special arrangements had been made to ensure early delivery by airplane and special train. A special train arrived in London soon after mid-day, bringing some fifty brace of grouse from Helmsley, Yorkshire, for the Savoy Hotel, and these were served at luncheon. The Maharajah of Patiala had grouse *à la crême,* the birds being served with fresh cream, mushrooms, and seasoning. A further delivery arrived in the afternoon, and altogether three hundred brace were disposed of. Two consignments, one from Yorkshire and a smaller one from Scotland, arrived in London by air for Claridge's.

The very tang of the English countryside is in John Masefield's *Reynard the Fox*, and a brilliant Frenchman, André Maurois, has set down in a scene in *The Silence of Colonel Bramble* the rigidity of the British code. "'We never imagined,' continued the major, 'that such cads existed. Bombing open towns is nearly as unpardonable as fishing for trout with a worm, or shooting a fox.' 'You must not exaggerate, Parker,' said the Colonel, calmly, 'They are not as bad as that yet.'" The extensive participation of the royal family and famous peers strengthens the ritual of sport, and symbolizes the national interest in the great events, now extended, since King Edward's time, to football finals.

Dean Inge has remarked that the English have given to the world most of its good games; perhaps a German or an Italian would boast of music. Curiously enough, despite the contributions of the British composers, one has no impression of a national expression through this medium. There are, it is true revivals of folk songs and dancing, or the delightful airs of Purcell or the eighteenth-century *Beggar's Opera;* there is the accumulation of church music, and the Three Choir Festival of the cathedral choirs of the West.[5] The plaintive words and music of the *Canadian Boat Song* have a peculiar appeal to the Scotch; but it is Wales which has treasured her musical heritage the most, and retained in her great song and bardic festivals a link with the culture of her past. Perhaps for many the patriotism of the National Anthem "Rule Brittania" is too obvious. Nor can the modern stage be considered a vehicle of civic stimulus. The experimental theater finds most of its inspiration abroad; the national tradition must utilize its resources of the past—Shakespeare, Congreve, Sheridan, and the later nineteenth-century playwrights; and foreign visitors lament that Shaw is so infrequently performed. The efforts to develop popular support for opera and local repertory theaters have incomplete success at most.

Nor does one find in the fine arts in modern Britain a powerful and popular national influence.[6] There are museums of great civic interest such as the National Portrait Gallery in London, the London Museum, the Imperial War Museum, and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery; the museum of the services in the old Banqueting Hall in Whitehall; certain special collections of local interest, as at Glasgow, for example. Nor have "schools" been lacking. A. B. Walkley says:

> I shall very likely be called a Philistine for my pains—be told that I like English park scenery and enjoy Constable because it depicts that: in other words, that I appreciate not the art but the subject, which is an aesthetic heresy, etc., etc. I do not plead guilty. The coloring of the picture, the dark blue-greens of the trees against the pale red of the Georgian house; the elegant symmetry of the design, with the reflection of the house in the lake; above all, what I must inadequately call the feeling of the whole composition—all these things affect me. That the subject is a beautiful one in itself "spoils nothing," as the French say. But what a wonderful corner that is where this gem modestly glows! The "Flatford Mill" is close by it, and the "Frosty Morning" on the next wall. These are pictures that make one glad to be an Englishman, with an affectionate heart for the English countryside. It is a perpetual miracle to me that one can mount a few steps out of Trafalgar Square into a quiet room there, and, all of a sudden, enjoy these things, be transported and transformed by them, be changed by them into a different being.

The note, once more, of the countryside! The Scotchman, Muirhead Bone, has caught the beauty of the shipbuilding Clydeside or of London, and his fellow-countryman, Sir D. Y. Cameron, of the Highlands, in their etchings;[7] and as Frederick Niven has shown us in his powerful novel, *Justice of the Peace*, Glasgow is something of a center for the arts—so unexpected a quarter!

Yet one feels the more surely that the slow process of time, in British gardens and country houses and churches and colleges, has been the supreme creator of a British aesthetic expression, or the shifting fog and smoke of London over the river at Westminster or Chelsea, where a sense of beauty creeps in softly and subtly, as the sense of a heritage invades the schoolboy at Winchester or Eton. Unlike the modern symphony from Paris or Vienna, or the latest play from Rome, Berlin, or New York, the fashions of dress from Paris or the scenario from the ever so legendary Hollywood of ill-repute, these things cannot be imported, and they are persistent. In them, and in the long line of portraits of the many generations who dwelt in these houses and knew these scenes, some visible expression of the life of the nation has been caught.

"The rime of the poet modulates the king's affairs," wrote Emerson. We have seen how difficult it is to measure what modulation the journalist may exercise; and the English language is no longer a respecter of boundaries. One meets British labor leaders whose thought has been influenced by *The Bigelow Papers* and *Leaves of Grass*, and English schoolmasters who had read *Hiawatha* in the primary school. Yet the richness and variety of the literature of England, Scotland, and Wales, even if but a little portion can be made a source of inspiration to the masses of children in the later years of the primary schools, possesses its civic influence.[8] It is not alone the picture of British life which is presented in the great novels, or the legends or historical figures interwoven in the "rough island story," but the sense of sharing something valuable and treasured. To the London boy, the thought may come that Shakespeare played on a theater on the Bankside, Dickens walked the Strand, or Thackeray lived in the Temple; to the Edinburgh boy, that Burns climbed the hill of the old city, or prowled about the Ayrshire country. And if the subtleties of style escape the schoolboy, the content of the English classics will give him pictures of his heritage. From the glittering kings of Shakespeare through the governing classes of the regency of which Thackeray wrote, or the heroes of Scott, to Kipling's empire-builders, great national figures pass before him. Nor is he left unacquainted with the humbler folk of Dickens with their setting of a so familiar London. The conscious search of the past for inspiration in its ballads and stories for the present goes further, perhaps, in Wales; while the teachings of Burns pervade the larger empire of Scotland, not always under the national flag, and at home wrestle successfully in the Labour movement with the importations of the Marxians.

If, aside from the consciously patriotic verse of the school anthologies—the poems, for example, of Kipling or Newbolt or Rupert Brooke—the great classics have less the direct historical appeal of famous leaders, how much the more do they reflect some characteristic British interests! The preoccupation with profound social and ethical idealism may be now subdued, now strident; but the strain is conveyed, from Milton to Blake, Wordsworth, Shelley and Byron; in the hymns of the Wesleys or the songs of Burns. And through them all, prose and verse, appear two influences: the love of the countryside (flowering again lately in V. Sackville-West's *The Land*), and the inevitable influence of the King James' Version whether on the prose of Donne or Cowper. John Drinkwater writes:[9]

> I find myself standing, shall we say, at a point of vantage on Thames-side below St. Paul's, and in the vivid life of modern London I see the long succession from Shakespeare's theatres and the Elizabethan pageant, bright with barges and home-faring adventurers, through the rigours of Puritan England to the Restoration elegance, followed by Wits and Regencies, and broadening through Victorian "precedent to precedent" into the complex enigma of our own day. And as I look on this panorama of history I am strangely moved by the knowledge that I am part of it, that I too am an Englishman, that I can travel to foreign parts and speak familiarly of my heritage in this great story. I boast to myself, and justly, that I can call myself the peer of any man in being thus in a descent that can match any splendour in the world's records. I am, in the widest and deepest sense, a patriot.

And Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, editing his examples of prose for *The Oxford Book of English Prose*, writes in his introduction:

> I have tried to make this book as representatively English as I might; with less thought of robust and resounding "patriotism" than of that subdued and hallowed emotion which, for example, should possess any man's thoughts standing before the tomb of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral: a sense of wonderful history written silently in books and buildings, all persuading that we are heirs of more spiritual wealth than, may be, we have surmised or hitherto begun to divine.

If the impress of this great heritage upon school children must, from the nature of things, be faint, it is the firmer and deeper in the colleges upon a selected number; and in the circle of educated people the modern novel or poetry carries on the tradition. How much, for example, the more important novelists of the past half-century have continued to reflect the interest in profound social questions—Meredith, Hardy, Gissing, Wells, Galsworthy. And in the delineations of character by Bennett, Walpole, or Henry James, not infrequently the central interest remains fixed upon the attrition of personality against the enclosing social scheme or code. Within the past three decades, the novel of the empire—foreshadowed by *Henry Esmond* and *The Virginians*—has achieved popularity through Kipling, Francis Brett Young, Sir Harry Johnston, and E. M. Forster, and the popular books for boys are often stories of imperial exploration and war.

Three classes of books of civic interest must receive special mention. One is composed of books describing local antiquities, history, or places of scenic or historic interest. The books about Sussex, or Oxford, for example, are innumerable, and bespeak a persistent concern of a group of people, not all tourists or historians, in the place and its history. Sometimes these are, as in the hands of a W. H. Hudson, of a high quality of literature; again, they may be the most uninspired of guidebooks, or the most trivial of personal impressions. Another class—and a large one—is that of memoirs and biographies. Lytton Strachey writes:[10]

> Those two fat volumes with which it is our custom to commemorate the dead—who does not know them, with their ill-digested masses of material, their slipshod style, their tone of tedious panegyric, their lamentable lack of selection, of detachment, of design? They are as familiar as the cortège of the undertaker, and wear the same air of slow, funereal barbarism. One is tempted to suppose, of some of them, that they were composed by that functionary, as the final item of the job.

Yet the appearance of the "definitive life" of a great statesman—Morley's life of Gladstone, for example—is something of an event in the world of the governing classes; and the custom of writing autobiography now extends to the labor leaders.

And there is the flow of speculation concerning political and social questions and of histories—books directly addressed to civic interests. Included in this class are the innumerable pamphlets of the many civic societies and of groups and individuals, of which the publications of the Labour Research Department, the parties, or Keynes's *Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill* are representative. The influence of these is not wholly limited to the circle of students and publicists; for as we have seen the pamphleteering of the Fabians, for example, or of the "Round Table" group of imperialists, may affect the political thought of a generation, as the writings of Seeley and Dilke in another generation helped to create a new attitude toward the empire. Such writings, it is true, must coincide with currents of economic or social change to be really important, and it may at any time be difficult to disentangle cause and effect. The recent flowering of a school of critics of the "sovereign state" is a case in point. Maitland in law, Figgis in political theory (especially the relations of church and state), G. D. H. Cole in labor strategy and social theory, Laski in political theory, Tawney in economics and ethics are only the more outstanding members of a school whose writings have grown out of a sense of disillusionment at the possibilities of state action; yet through their influence upon students, journalists, administrators in politics and industry, ecclesiastics, they have helped to sharpen certain perspectives and reveal the possibilities inherent in already existing institutions and social trends. Thus a treatise on the law, such as that of Dicey, or a single article such as Barker's on *The Discredited State*, or J. M. Keynes's *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, aided by the closely knit structure of the British influential classes with their center in London, may have an importance far beyond the speculations of the classroom. Here, perhaps, social theory replaces the older Oxford Tracts, or the sermons of John Wesley as a potent force in shaping the British attitude toward civic questions; it remains to be seen whether the crusading zeal characteristic of these movements in British life up to the present can be so wedded to scientific objectivity and research as to secure a wide usefulness.

If the number of citizens in any modern state who may be affected profoundly by the "higher" cultural traditions of the nation in music, literature, and the fine arts is not a large one, in Britain the nature of the social system and the influence of the life of the capital give them unusual importance. Shaw has suggested that there are as many dialects in Britain as there are individuals listed by the census; and speech still marks class as well as locality —indeed, more so. For all that, one patriot has hurried to the defense of the language even at this late date against the barbarians of America and the overseas empire. The establishment of a council of scholars representative of English-speaking peoples to consider the proper use and development of the English language aroused this writer; and the suggestion of a visiting professor of English literature that the council might consider the problem of the "anglicism" was the final straw. He writes in the *New Statesman:*[11]

> We obviously cannot admit that the English language contains "anglicisms"—because that admission would imply that our language belongs to everybody who uses it—including negroes and Middle-Westerners and Americanised Poles and Italians. That is the fundamental point. "Anglicisms" are English words *tout court.* And on the question of what words and idioms are to be used or to be forbidden we cannot afford any kind of compromise or even discussion with the semi-demi-English-speaking population of overseas. Their choice is to accept our authority or else make their own language. So bad cess to this new Council and all its works.

Whether this curse can penetrate into the shades and fall upon the spirits of Chaucer, of the committee of forty-seven scholars who helped to fix a common language in Britain through their revision of the translations of the Bible, and the long line of writers and preachers and teachers who have helped to mold it and fashion it, cannot, one supposes, be revealed. But the comment of the South African novelist, for example, or the Canadian scholar, would perhaps be pertinent, and abrupt. The suggestion that this great instrument is peculiarly the product of the present generation of London journalists, they might place in a category with an earlier suggestion that the foreign policy of the empire is an equally exclusive product of Westminster.

While the existence of separate and distinct national cultures within a single political unit is generally deemed to be a danger to "national unity," the status of Wales and Scotland within Great Britain would seem to belie the theory.[12] The reason, of course, lies in the fact that only when those aspects of the national culture which are most significant are suppressed in the interest of the culture of the predominant partner will the minorities take to political action or even force to secure freedom. In Wales the population has been able to preserve through the non-conformist churches its language, its music, and a genuine sharing in the direction of the economic and political life of the larger unit generally, as the careers of Lord Rhondda and Mr. Lloyd George testify. In recent years the disestablishment of the Welsh church has removed an old grievance. The language is preserved, the great singing and literary festivals and contests held, and cultural interests generally kept free from irksome interference. Thus with the advantages of sharing in the government of an empire, of participating in the commerce and industry of that empire, of co-operation with the labor movements of England and Scotland and providing a share of the leadership of these movements, the Welsh have in addition the freedom to preserve and develop the national culture as they wish. Similarly the Scotch have been given an opportunity which they were quick to take advantage of. They have helped to settle and develop the empire, they have become powerful in journalism and the law in London as at home and have invaded the church as well as business, and industry, and politics. At the same time their own legal system has been retained, their own system of local government, and special provision made for the administration of health and education. Such demand as exists for home rule is based chiefly upon a plea of greater convenience, of the overpressure of questions upon the imperial Parliament. Furthermore the Scotch have retained their own national church. Thus both in Wales and Scotland none of the usual sources of disaffection in nationalist movements are to be found, since religion and national culture are left to the people, and greater economic, professional, and political advantages exist than would otherwise be available were the three nations to separate into three states.

Within England or Scotland or Wales there are other cultural areas which have been profoundly affected by the industrial developments of the last century, yet are still discernible.[13] There is the contrast, for example, between the Highlands and the Lowlands; between the North Country, Northumberland and Yorkshire, and Sussex and Kent; or between the East Anglian and the Cornishman. In these regions there are somewhat different racial stocks, different materials and methods of construction of houses and other buildings, different favorite foods, different dialects, such as the speech of Dorsetshire or the speech of the Highland Scotch. In some areas particular sects are strong, the Methodists, for example, in Cornwall. Here again the fact that men and women grow up in communities which cherish and possess ancient traditions, customs, ways of doing things, speech and other characteristics which mark them off from other countrymen, and that such different cultures are permitted them by the larger inclusive political unit which, in addition, provides them with the more extensive opportunities of Great Britain and the empire and gives them a vicarious share in its prestige and greatness, result in a deeper and stronger patriotism rather than in any separatist tendency.[14] The days of an uprising by the followers of the Pretender are over.

The culture of any great nation develops through a process of attrition and borrowing. How much that of Britain is due to Norman or Huguenot, the Dutch who drained the East Anglian farmlands or the teachings of medieval Continental priests, the writers of the Italian Renaissance or the builders of France, no one can measure.[15] In our own day the streams of influence are hardly lessened; indeed, new ones appear, and a Canadian becomes Prime Minister or newspaper peer, while engineers direct their scrutiny to American industry. The conscious efforts to develop cultural ties with other peoples are not so successful, perhaps, as more quiet creepings in of foreign influences. For the former must be confined to a group of those most interested. Thus the English Speaking Union, the Sulgrave Foundation, the Society of Pilgrims are interested in the ties between Britain and the United States of America. But are their efforts so important in results as the unconscious teachings of the American films on the one hand, and the arousing of criticism against those films on the other? There are, too, societies which foster cultural relations with France, Italy, Soviet Russia, Hungary, and many other foreign states; but they are confined to small numbers of the governing class or the "intellectuals," and there is an air of the *précieux* about them. The solid facts of interest—the need for peace and order in Europe, for markets in China, or the pressure of debt payments and financial and industrial competition from the United States—are more likely to affect the international outlook of Britons as of all peoples. These realities will lead the more articulate groups to press for a revision of the Versailles Treaty, to criticize French policy in the Ruhr, to criticize American policy and seek a compensation in contempt for American ways, or to urge a stronger show of force in the Far East.

In two groups, the deliberate search for a stronger organization of international society and a higher code of international dealings is marked. The Society of Friends is one of these; and a religious and ethical attitude has led here to a creation of a new standard of the good citizen, who will resist the claims of the state to armed service.[16] This is, however, a small group. The other, the political and industrial labor movements, have their affiliations with the international socialist and trade-union movements. Within the British movements a pacifist policy has grown since the war, and the threat of industrial action against a war with Soviet Russia utilized. Yet even within the empire the labor movements find severe strains in attempting to reach common policy. The British trade unionists have doctrines of race relations which to their South African colleagues seem unreal and objectionable; while the desires of Australian or Canadian trade unionists for a limitation upon immigration of manual workers into those regions appears to the British workers selfish. Only a few of the British leaders of the movement have any thorough knowledge of conditions in foreign states, and despite the efforts of the Workers' Travel Association those who can get abroad are few. The ties between the Russian Communist party and the British Communists and the National Minority Movement are naturally strong; but one great disadvantage which the Communists face is the fact that Moscow ideology and language are unsuited to most British workers, and the effort of Soviet leaders to drive a wedge of discontent between British labor leaders and the rank and file has been too clumsy to achieve success despite the recruiting of an occasional British leader who may be discontented with his treatment in the movement.[17] All such importations, indeed, are so thoroughly strained through the sieves of British experience and British conditions that the resulting brew has the tang of home. Despite the adoption of the doctrines of a class war, its corollaries of a revolution through force and of a dictatorship of the minority are not yet accepted, and the first is still struggling with the teaching of Burns, Robert Owen, and the moderate position of the evolutionary socialism.

The British labor interest in the Continental movements is more realist; it wants the concerted exploration by the labor movements of Europe of peace and prosperity and a general pressing for a larger share in product and control against the cutting down, now here and now there, of the standard of living. The coal industry is a case in point; so delicate is the adjustment of industries that a cut in the wages of the German miners has its repercussion on those of the British. Here again, therefore, it is less the conscious propaganda or cultural relationships than the "stubborn facts" that create an international attitude. The conditions in America are so different and the product of them in the American labor movement so unlike them, that it cannot be said that there is any substantial influence of the latter upon the British movements. Britain's closeness to the Continent, and the impingement of her empire upon every important populated region of the world, force certain interests immediately affected at some point to adopt a policy or attitude toward events in other states; but except for a section of the Anglo-Jewish community or of the Roman Catholic church, it possesses no group of people who may be called genuine "internationalists" in the sense of possessing naturally an appreciation of the cultural developments in other states.

Thus imported ideas and borrowings must seep down from the selected few, to be refashioned by teacher or publicist, before emerging in a British form and phraseology for British use. If social conditions are then ripe, such ideas will be put to use. In some such way was the Reformation effected; and a great economic revolution will require its Ockham and Wycliff and its Puritans and Presbyterians as well as its Wolsey or Tudor. And after the turmoil, the resulting system would bear, one surmises, as little resemblance to any Continental origins as the Reformation Settlement did to Geneva or French anti-clericalism. Nor is this situation weakened by the significant absence of alien colonies in Britain. Save for groups of Irish in Glasgow and Liverpool and of Irish and Jews in the East End of London, Britain has no intermediaries of this kind between her own culture and that of another people. This homogeneity of population, not always present in the past, is strengthened by the rigid restrictions placed upon the admission of aliens, and the careful watch upon those within the country. She is the more critical, therefore, of the efforts of newer countries to achieve a national culture, on the one hand, and more tolerant on the other of the critics among her own people. The latter, after all, belong; they have their claims upon the crowds at Hyde Park or Trafalgar Square, and they will not transgress the ultimate codes, for they have been reared under them. It is possible that it will be progressively more difficult, under the alien restriction regulations, for even political refugees to enter, and already the tightening up of the administration of immigration regulations has excluded persons for political views.[18]

Will the films and broadcasting be used as a means of extending acquaintance with other peoples? Here there are apparent possibilities, not yet consciously utilized. Resentment at the invasion of American films is great; it is in part generated by commercial motives, but even more so by those who deplore the failure to provide films portraying a British culture, and the suggestion that British film production lacks the capacity to compete successfully does not receive much credence. The exploration of the possible utilization of these new channels of international understanding, or of misunderstanding, remains to be accomplished. One can only regretfully dismiss the subject with the wish that educators consider them as seriously as the textbooks of history. For the modern film and radio, like the modern newspaper, have revealed to us a vast audience hitherto unthought of, from which each year many graduate into the class of persons possessing more critical judgment who have learned to observe and appraise. In this sense certain journalists—the Hearsts and Northcliffes—may be said not to have degraded journalism, or Hollywood commercial recreation. They discovered and supply a formerly neglected mass of people.

The cult of patriotism *qua* patriotism, pure and undefiled by attachment to other human concerns, is sometimes practiced by societies in modern states. Where the social system is old and long accepted and established, it would seem less relevant; if the system, after long trial, cannot secure the unprovoked allegiance of citizens, perhaps some other should be tried. Those who stand to lose by the change, however, will the more stridently seek to enforce the loyalty of the disaffected. In new countries the task of securing some coherent social scheme, or of maintaining the superior position of the early comers, supplies some explanation for this activity; but in Britain, the threat to the social system which prevailed before the war has caused the more vociferous urging of patriotic loyalty. Thus a journal called the *Patriot* attacks the labor movement as a Bolshevist organization; the British Empire Union, the British Women's Patriotic League, the Women's Guild of Empire, and the National Citizens' Union are strongly anti-labor. All this, it may be said, bears resemblance to the attacks upon the opponents of the Boer War made by the imperialists a quarter of a century ago. These organizations are recruited from a section of the Conservative party, one gathers from the list of their officials, and they spread the alarm among a section of the older rentier class. One finds that their publications and statements were taken with some seriousness, for example, in the kind of community in which moderately well-to-do persons have retired—such communities as one comes upon in the Isle of Wight. Such organizations were active in recruiting for "essential services" in preparation for the General Strike of 1926, and helped to support the Organization for the Maintenance of Supply, which was established to co-operate with government departments in the event of serious industrial disturbances. In most of the propaganda which such societies send out citizens are urged to buy British goods, to support the empire and the armed services, and to oppose Labour because it is presumed to be controlled by a minority of leaders in the pay of Moscow. The British Fascisti and the National Fascisti have imported the doctrines of Mussolini even to the black shirts (doubtless of British make) and the salute. One is told that among their numbers there are some demobilized officers, who returning to civilian life, now seek an escape from the drab and colorless life of the clerk. The pledge taken by the British Fascisti indicates the patriotic attitude.

> I, the undersigned, hereby promise, upon my word of honour, to uphold His Most Gracious Majesty King George V, ... the established constitution of Great Britain and the British Empire. I undertake that, without personal consideration, I will render every service in my power to the British Fascisti in the struggle against all treacherous and revolutionary movements now working for the destruction of the Throne and the Empire.

The size of these organizations is not generally known; but they have had several thousands in public demonstrations who have come up from the provinces to place wreaths on the Cenotaph at Whitehall, and organized bodies of them have attempted to break up street meetings of Labour speakers. A circular published by one of these societies states:

> It is not enough to *encourage* patriotism we must *force* it on our people, by waking them to the realisation that Patriotism is not an optional sentiment but a *duty,* the first of every British man, woman and child. Bolshevism cannot be suppressed by words alone; you must be prepared to back up your words by something more effective when necessary, i.e., Force. . . . . We are also organising our active members into a strong, disciplined, really loyal Force on a military basis.

One cannot escape the feeling that there exists in such activities, as in some aspects of the Communist or National Minority

Movements, something of the playboy quality that feeds on plots, on forming "cells" of activity and influence, on secret meetings, and the thrill of personal combat. For ordinary purposes, it would seem that the Primrose League, for example, or the Navy League, would answer all need for a public show of patriotism; and how alien is the very name, to say nothing of the teachings, of Fascism to the life of a Sussex village or an Oxford College, and how unreal the dictatorship of the proletariat to a conference of co-operative councillors or a band of trade-union officials at Blackpool or Scarborough! Even in the times which leaders of opposing parties call "critical" a certain genial indifference at worst, good humor at best, seems to possess the mass of citizens; lately, when the debate over the Trade Union Bill in Parliament was marked by bitter words, and in the by-elections in a few constituencies a fierce battle was expected, hundreds of thousands of people crowded together to see the Derby while less than one-half the voters of an urban district took the trouble to vote. Neither Black nor Red would seem to match the duller gray of the great bulk of "mere inhabitants."

Aldous Huxley wrote in Delhi:[19]

> From the Viceroy to the young clerk who, at home, consumes high tea at sunset, every Englishman in India solemnly "dresses." It is as though the integrity of the British Empire depended in some directly magical way upon the donning of black jackets and hard-boiled shirts. Solitary men in Dak Bungalows, on coasting steamers, in little shanties among the tiger-infested woods, obey the mystical imperative and every evening put on the funereal uniform of English prestige.

The slender subtleties of a national culture elude and mock the effort to place them in categories. When an aristocracy holds them in its keeping for the nation, the task of description is less difficult; it is our fate today to witness throughout both the East and the West the dissolution of such systems. The appearance of new vehicles through which pictures and ideas may be conveyed to masses of people, tastes stimulated, codes proposed is sufficiently startling. How much the more so it is, when these vehicles—the popular novels, the syndicated press articles, the films, the broadcast music or address—pay no respect to the boundaries of states! A class which has had so much of the heritage of the nation in its keeping, and in return has held a privileged position, seeks new methods of preserving and of passing on its gift. Can it do so, can it inculcate in the new powers the older attitudes and values before new ones, the product of the condition of unsettlement, have become set and rigid? How often is that question anxiously asked in Europe today!

NOTES

1. *The History of British Patriotism,* by Esme Wingfield-Stratford, two volumes (London, 1913), and *Race and Nationality,* by John Oakesmith (London, 1919) are historical studies of the development of British cultures, with emphasis on literature. Dean Inge's *England,* and Mr. Stanley Baldwin's *On England,* are useful. All of these volumes, however, are written from a conservative point of view, and need to be supplemented by the comments of foreign observers—for example, Heine, J. R. Lowell, Henry Adams, A. L. Lowell, Max O'Rell, W. H. Page, Karl Kapek, Leon Trotsky, Henry James, and André Siegfried.

2. The National Playing Fields Association has been organized to conduct a campaign for playing-fields. The attention given to sport by prominent politicians is striking—ambition seems to be centered upon possessing a Derby winner as well as a Cabinet post. Note in this connection, too, Lord Grey's *Falloden Papers* and in his *Twenty-Five Years* the frequent escape from the burdens of office to seclusion in the countryside. See my quotation from Lytton Strachey's portrait of Lord Hartington, chapter vi. There are historic sports gatherings annually in the Highlands and at Grasmere, and also in Wales. A recent German study of British character entitled *Fair Play,* by Rudolph Kircher, stresses the importance of the code of the game in all British life.

3. Canon Peter Green of Manchester has accumulated a mass of evidence of the cost of betting. *The Equipment of the Workers,* a settlement study frequently cited in these pages, supplies numerous case studies of the recreational habits of the working-class.

4. Piaras Beaslai, *Michael Collins and the Making of New Ireland.*

5. Max O'Rell, in his amusing *John Bull and His Island,* remarks that "The oratorio flourishes in England; it is the music for which John Bull shows a predilection. He likes these biblical subjects set to music. . . . . The oratorio is for him a foretaste of the delights that await him in the next world. . . . . The English will not be happy until the whole Bible is set to music." Note my quotation from Rupert Brooke in chapter i, in which England conveys, among other things, the sound of hymns. For the drama, see St. John Ervine's *The Organised Theatre: A Plea in Civics* (London, 1924).

6. See Wingfied-Stratford, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, chap. x. The resentment at the sale of objects of art to America is an interesting light on national attitudes, as it is frequently forgotten that many of these were once obtained from impoverished Europeans at an earlier time. The compensation secured (apart, of course, from the money) is the accepted view that sheer untutored wealth is grasping these things from impoverished culture.

7. *The London Perambulator,* by James and Muirhead Bone (London, 1925), is a fine example of the preservation of the beauty of a great city in word and line.

8. See John Drinkwater, *Patriotism in Literature* (London, 1924); W. M. Dixon, *Poetry and National Character* (1915); and Edmund Dale, *National Life and Character in the Mirror of Early English Literature* (Cambridge, 1907); also note 1 of this chapter. The *Report on the Teaching of English,* cited previously, should be read in this connection.

9. *Patriotism in Literature,* p. 141.

10. Preface to *Eminent Victorians.*

11. Vol. XXXIX, No. 739 (June 25, 1927), p. 341.

12. There is a valuable survey of the adult educational work in Wales and Scotland in the *Appendix to the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee to the Ministry of Education* (1919), pp. 276–96, which gives a general view of cultural developments. The *Welsh Outlook*, a new monthly journal, is devoted to the portrayal of contemporary cultural developments there. An interesting drama of modern Welsh life is *Change*, by J. D. Davies (Aberystwyth, 1913). *Devolution in Great Britain*, by Mr. W. H. Chiao, "Columbia University Studies" (New York, 1923), is a survey of the problems of local government from the point of view of possible home rule measures; note in this connection the writings of C. B. Fawcett and the regional planners.

13. The recent regional plan studies in Kent, or Mr. W. H. Hudson's book on Cornwall entitled *The Land's End* reveal the localism of these areas. See also an article entitled "North and South" by Mr. Ivor Brown in the *Saturday Review*, November 6, 1926.

14. See Drinkwater, *op. cit.*, chap. xiv on "Patriotism of Place."

15. See Oakesmith, *op. cit.*, and Wingfield-Stratford, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, chap. xii.

16. See *Conscription and Conscience*, by John W. Graham (London, 1922), for a history of the resistance to conscription in the World War in Britain and of the relation of the Friends to this movement; and *Builders of Peace*, by Mrs. H. M. Swanwick (London, 1924).

17. It is significant, for example, that Mr. A. J. Cook definitely went over to the Communist party after the development of bitter relations between him and other trade-union leaders during the Strikes of 1926 and the upholding of his opponents by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress.

18. I had some personal knowledge of cases of this sort during our stay in Britain. I recall, too, that when lunching with a "labour" journalist and another Englishman lately returned from America, when the former was abusing American "one hundred percentism" and immigration exclusion the latter reminded him that he had found that the entrance into and travel about America by an alien was much easier than in Britain.

19. *Jesting Pilate* (New York, 1926). There is a literature of the "Little Englanders" with intense local patriotism in the poems of Belloc and Chesterton—note especially the former's *South Country* and *Lines to the Balliol Men Still in Africa* and the latter's *Geography* poems.

CHAPTER XV

QUERIES AND APPRAISALS

The British Empire, keeping the peace within its own borders, bound in its own interest, by the very nature of its constitution, to "seek peace and ensue it," everywhere, is the most powerful bulwark in the world to-day against the spread of international discord. The maintenance of the unity of the Empire is not the only contribution, but it is by far the greatest and most practical contribution, which British statesmanship can make to the welfare of mankind.—VISCOUNT MILNER, *Questions of the Hour.*

There is no country that reflects more sensitively the increase or decrease in the world's economic activity. Everything that happens throughout the world has its reaction on her factories, her counting-houses, her shipyards and the innumerable vessels of her merchant fleet. This astonishing solidarity is at the same time a cause both of weakness and power. It was not without a sense of foreboding that in 1846 Sir Robert Peel turned the page on the old agricultural and feudal Britain he had known, and accepted for the future the principle of international economic interdependence, the source both of infinite riches and of dangerous fragility.—ANDRÉ SIEGFRIED, *Post-War Britain.*

On November 11, 1918, as I came back from telling the news of the armistice to a family of Belgian exiles who had wept with joy, I passed the buildings of a big endowed school. The boys were assembled in the hall, and were apparently singing all the doggerel verses of "God Save the King." I listened, trying to imagine the hymns that were being sung before other national flags in all the schools of the Allies; and a conviction swept through me that the special task of our generation might be so to work and think as to be able to hand on to the boys and girls who fifty years hence, at some other turning point in world history, may gather in the schools, the heritage of a world-outlook deeper and wider and more helpful than that of modern Christendom.—GRAHAM WALLAS, *Our Social Heritage.*

This much I can avow, that never, even when the storm clouds appear blackest, have I been tempted to wish that I was other than an Englishman. . . . . All that remains of our former pride is a wholesome indifference to the opinions of foreign nations, which we find to be generally ill-informed and frequently biassed.—DEAN INGE, *England.*

"Society to-day," remarked Lady Dorothy Nevill in her *Reminiscences*, "and society as I formerly knew it, are two entirely different things; indeed, it may be questioned whether Society, as the word used to be understood, exists at all." Let us glance, in conclusion, over some total scene. What was this society (widening our use of the term) which seems to be in a process of dissolution? Can we detect any system in the inner civic life of Britain, and plot, at least, the channels through which changes are appearing? Can we discern any tendencies in the external relations of this community? And are the institutions through which social changes reach their fruition adaptable and amenable to the new challenges?

The factors of people and environment would seem to be the most permanent of all those that go to influence and shape social development. Yet conscious invention, we have seen, may nullify their effects or deflect their pressures and courses. Thus the basis of British economy in land, sea, climate, mineral resources, forests has been affected in the past century or two. It is true that while the supplies of iron ores and the fertility of some regions have been lowered, there remain great quantities of the coal on which much of British industry and shipping has been dependent. What is more important, however, is the effect of the exploitation of resources of other parts of the earth, and the rise of new industrial regions in Germany, America, Japan, and even other parts of the British empire. Britain no longer possesses the differential advantages in world-industry which she had a century ago, although the accumulated wealth, the organization and managerial skill, the resources of skilled labor, financial institutions, and commercial organization have not been greatly injured by the World War in proportion to other European states.

Her population has become even more homogeneous with the passage of time, and the severe restrictions placed upon the immigration of aliens would seem to indicate that this is a permanent situation. But profound change within her borders has come in the past two centuries with the shift of people to the great urban centers, for approximately one-half of the population now live in cities of 50,000 inhabitants or more. Both death- and birth-rates have declined; the significance of the latter, in terms of the contribution of classes to the population, is disputed. Certainly the larger portion now comes from the economically poorer classes.

Mr. Havelock Ellis, noting the general changes in the population problem, comments:[1]

> One is tempted to ask how far the industrial progress of the nineteenth century, the growth of factories, the development of urban life has altered the conditions affecting the production of eminent men. It seems clear that, taking English history as a whole, the conditions of rural life have, from the present point of view, produced the best stocks. The minor aristocracy and the clergy—the "gentlemen" of England—living on the soil in the open air, in a life of independence at once laborious and leisurely, have been able to give their children good opportunities for development, while at the same time they have not been able to dispense them from the necessity of work. . . . . Life in the old towns formerly fertile in intellectual ability—towns like Edinburgh, Norwich, Ipswich and Plymouth—was altogether unlike life in our modern urban centers.

The new civic life must be created under new conditions, fixed by huge urban concentration; but this is possibly the more amenable, therefore, to conscious direction through legislation and administration.

Thus both the relation of the new British society to its basic natural resources and the opportunities and limitations fixed by the application of invention to them, and the problems of numbers and distribution of population are peculiarly suited to scientific exploration and research. The fundamental factors upon which the future of the British nation depends require the studies of the scientist as well as the speculations of the philosopher to a degree far beyond the requirements of that nation in the eighteenth century; the margin for risks in Britain today is less, the power of other nations has relatively increased.

What, then, is the social system, viewed as a whole, as it appears to us from after a series of studies of its constituent parts? During the war, A. E. Zimmern wrote:[2]

> Many have discovered for the first time, what every foreigner sees, and what every Briton from across the ocean knows, that the British are not a nation as the French are a nation, because the revolution of social equality has never been made. The great mass of the nation are fighting even now not for an England which is themselves, but for an England which inherits noble traditions and fine qualities, but which is separated from them by the impalpable barrier of caste. This separation which has added bitterness to every political and economic dispute has been wonderfully bridged in the trenches. There is a growing sense that it must be bridged at home.

Fixity of classes begets, however (with homogeneity of population), a certain tolerance. Those assured of position and power, able to control the conditions of entry into the upper levels, can afford to permit a certain latitude of criticism, providing the basic system is not tampered with. The parvenu is the person most uneasy over his manners, and careful of his views; he has not yet "arrived." With a fixity of class, there may be also a sense of mutual social obligation; on such a scheme did Disraeli build his theory of Tory Democracy. What are the props, and what are the threats to the stability of the older governing classes in Britain, about whom the civic life revolved?

"That minority who command the confidence of their fellows," in Mr. Tawney's phrase, have commanded, in Britain, a powerful position indeed. So powerful has it been, yet so numerous and minute its roots in the life of the nation, that one is often tempted to believe the process of civic education an effortless one, a kind of osmosis of social influence, in which the drawing power is ambition and a sense of social obligation. Colonel Fuller[3] in an analysis of *The English Spirit* writes:

> We are not democrats, we are aristocrats, and what we feel—but do not say—is this: A man of breeding, if he is not honest and honorable, has so much to lose socially in our social system that birth and position normally compel him to be honest and honorable. A "common man," however able, has few or none of these privileges to lose. . . . If a "common man" shows talent, though we seldom accept him in our midst, we are willing to accept his grandson, who may be a perfect fool. Two generations passed through our public schools, which are not centres of learning, but courts of honor, we consider the minimum time wherein to produce a gentleman, and to the English a gentleman is a man who can be trusted, who cannot be bribed, who does not cheat at cards, who does not drop his "h's," who goes to church in a top hat, and who considers cricket the king of games. If he is intensely stupid, so much the better, for then these aristocratical distinctions will appeal to him in greater force.

One need not accept this somewhat lurid self-portraiture without recognizing, nevertheless, the tribute to the system.

Some of the factors in that system we have here examined, one by one. The sense of the place, the family inheritance of the members of the governing class which includes the country house and the season in town, responsible assumption of leadership in the countryside with admission to Portman or Eaton Squares, Mayfair or Kensington, and the Pall Mall Clubs. In the Hall—perhaps in the Gallery off Trafalgar Square—hang the portraits—Lely, Gainsborough, Raeburn, Romney, Reynolds, Sargent, may have done them—and the letters of a particularly distinguished (or prolific) member will have been published in the "two stout volumes." The sons of these families have had avenues open to them, following public school. Some, through the university (Oxford or Cambridge, but perhaps Edinburgh), to Parliament or the Civil Service, or the church; some, after the "crammers," to the army or navy; some to return to the estates in the country, or possibly a city firm; a few from the university to the Inns of Court on the long ascent to the woolsack. The privileges of hereditary position, bulwarked by the House of Lords, have been reinforced by the nature of the political system in the House of Commons and the parties, by the relation between the higher civil service and the universities, by the attachment of the latter to the church; about them is the glow of royalty and the court. While the land has been the peculiar possession and symbol of the economic position of this class, it has come, through assimilation of new members and a wise dispersal and shifting of its wealth, to ally itself to finance, shipping, overseas investment, and industry. A vast empire has provided posts, too, in which young men have been placed to govern and guide Indians and Africans, or achieve fresh fortunes in mines, plantations, or railroads. The symbol of a class has been maintained in the ceremonies of sport; the pastime of the ancient Persian princes becomes the avocation of officers in India, or an event of the season at Hurlingham, the horse race or the fox hunt secures its allotted place in the social calendar.

Nor can this system of civic education be summarily dismissed. The Hammonds write of its earlier representatives:[4]

> For education had given to the English governing class an insight into a civilization in which the conduct, the relations, the difficulties and the purposes of social life had been the subject of endless experiment, of penetrating discussion, and of the most exquisite compositions in history, philosophy, poetry, and drama. . . . . A literature makes its effect by the atmosphere of awe or generous hope into which it puts imagination and memory, by the sense it gives a man of the place and significance of an age or generation, in a vast procession of forces and persons, ideas and events. If you ask of education that it should teach how man has tried to make societies, how far his experiments have succeeded, from what causes they have come to catastrophe, the study

> of the life and literature of Greece and Rome is an experience possessing a completeness that no other culture can provide: it is like contemplating a vast tragedy on which the curtain has dropt. . . . . For the English statesman of the eighteenth century this literature was specially important, because it was an education for politics and not only for the management of a man's life. It reflected the anxieties and the temptations of peoples struggling with problems closely resembling the problems of their own age. . . . . It was from the classics that men of liberal temper derived their public spirit, their sense for tolerance, their dread of arbitrary authority, the power to think of their nation in great emergencies as answering nobly or basely to some tremendous summons.

A system which sent Milner to Egypt, Barnett to Whitechapel, Durham to Canada, Gertrude Belle to Arabia, or Octavia Hill to rent-collecting may have its inadequacies, but it also creates, clearly, a "sense of the state" and high standards of personal obligation for public service. "Forty years on," the Harrow boy may find himself in a Cabinet, as the Prime Minister assures us, with five other Harrow men among his colleagues. If power was viewed as the just and inevitable possession of a class, at least that class was not unaware of its responsibilities within the fundamentals of its code and outlook.

The capacity of the governing class in Britain to absorb new members is notorious. One is never sure, however, whether it stoops to conquer, or "bends with the remover to remove." It has absorbed the nabobs of East Indian plantations; cotton manufacturers of Manchester, commercial magnates of Liverpool and Glasgow, Jew bankers of the city or gold-mine operators of the Rand. Lately, it has been making a place for the presidents of the more important trade unions. How much does it surrender in making these adjustments? Could some Spirit of this class say, as Emerson made Brahma say:

> If the red slayer thinks he slays
> Or if the slain think he is slain,
> They know not well the subtle ways
> I keep, and pass, and turn again.

Perhaps the Left Wing, watching wistfully their moderate leaders enjoying themselves at a court dinner or Foreign Office reception, may wonder whether Emerson's reference to the red slayer was not prophetic journalism. Yet there are worries on the other side, too; a great lament goes up in the memoirs over the decay of "Society" through the admission of American heiresses, international Jew millionaires, or wealthy but middle-class British industrialists or Canadian careerists. Here is such a lament, indeed, from a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge,[5] uttered a year before the World War:

> Things are different now. The barriers are fairly down, or perhaps we might say they have become toll-gates, through which anybody may pass who can pay enough. This is so notorious as hardly to stand in need of elaboration, and it only remains to estimate briefly the significance and probable effects of the change. The new-comers who have conquered society may be roughly divided into the *nouveaux riches* from the middle class, the Americans, and the other wealthy foreign aliens. These last are perhaps not very formidable as regards numbers, but the fabulous amount of their fortunes, the power they are known to wield in international and even domestic politics, the unabashed and naturally unpatriotic greed which is the motive of such transactions, and their generally unprepossessing appearance and manners are a very godsend to revolutionary agitation. . . . . For good or evil the social leadership of the nation has passed into the hands of a plutocracy.

One has a suspicion that the older gentry may have talked much the same way during the Restoration when some of the present older aristocratic families were being founded with a certain careless profusion by the king and his mistresses, or even in the days of the Georges, when others, again, whose present representatives are scandalized by the materialism of the newcomers of today, were being established through the bribes of Kings or Premiers or the loot of India. Even a labor official, responsible for the unfortunately materialistic interests of several thousand men in wage negotiations, might find dropping an "h" at the beginning of a word as respectable as the dropping of a "g" at the end by a peer who "ministers to the social need for speculation on horses." But the "two generations passing through the public schools" are effective, while a substantial middle-class dissenting Liberal of Victorian days, if elevated to the peerage, was only too often lost forever for his party.

Yet we have seen how inadequate it is to take a part for the whole. The great characteristic of British civic education has been the extension of power to voluntary or semi-voluntary societies; perhaps it is truer to say that power has been generated in these, and has been left with them either through default, or taken away only when they threaten too profoundly the interests of whatever group is speaking, through the governing classes of any one period, for the whole. Among the associations or institutions which, as we have seen, exercise this privilege of inducting citizens into the British system are the local political institutions, the parties, and the churches; the universities, the public schools, adult education organizations, and, to a less degree self-contained, the school systems maintained by the churches and education authorities for primary, elementary, and secondary education; the innumerable trade, financial, industrial, and trade union organizations; and those societies whose interests lie in the general fields of the fine arts, music, the drama, literature, and the preservation of places and objects of historic, scenic, or civic interest generally.

If there has been little of the obviously conscious state direction of civic education in Britain, the task has not been left undone; rather by the drawing into the processes of social control of many people in every class, the more firm a foundation has been laid upon which the superstructure of the state rests. Local cultures have been left as unchallenged as the societies enumerated; and the parliamentary system has supplied a gradually modified instrument through which new socially powerful classes might express their interests.

Perhaps every generation sees a new crisis in the life of society. There is, however, a substantial basis for such a claim for the present. This consideration has obtruded itself in the discussion of every important institution. The consequences of the World War are not easy to dissect; but ten years of peace have brought home to the British the fact that, as after the Napoleonic War, a new world exists. Can she continue to be the financier, the carrier, and the manufacturer for the world? Can she meet the competition of newer states in world-markets, continuing to feed her masses of people on imported food, and making goods with imported materials? She has, since the war, achieved some economic miracles in balancing the budget; stabilizing credit, currency, and exchange; settling honorably her debts with the United States and meeting interest requirements on them. What is as significant, but less popularly appreciated, is, apparently, the maintenance today of a general standard of living not only higher than that of most of Europe, but even than her own before the war, and the continued flow of funds from British investors to old and new enterprises overseas. And with all this, she is supporting a large number of unemployed persons.

Nevertheless, with the pressure for expansion of any social service, now comes a more determined resistance from the possessing classes.[6] Such claims, in halcyon days, could be met from the sheer expansion of her prosperity. Today such a margin is lost, and it must come, if it comes at all, from a cutting into the share of those classes, and consequently it represents a threat of diminishing power for them. These threats and pressures are accompanied by new doctrines and philosophies; a kind of British edition of a democratic doctrine expressed, for example, in the program of a secondary school education for all who care to have it, with an expansion of adult education, better housing, a reorganization of the whole land system and of the basic industries. But there is, too, another and alternative doctrine, the Communist program of a seizure of power through political and industrial action by an organized group of Communist party leaders, and the violent overthrow of the existing political and industrial institutions. The overwhelming evidence shows that the great majority of the more articulate members of the labor movements are far more sympathetic to the first than to the second; but whether they will fall back upon the second, or be forced to relinquish their leadership in favor of those who adopt the second, rests upon conditions not within their control. Those conditions are fixed partly by the world-economic system, partly by the capacity of the governing classes for leadership and scientific inquiry.

For what, after all, are the alternatives before the governing classes in this problem of civic education? They may repress every effort of the labor movement to maintain its position or to improve it by laws and administration. They may, on the other hand, grant it what it wants. They may seek various tentative new channels and courses through which currents may flow without seriously weakening their traditional position. They may try all three solutions. Actually the last, it would appear, is happening. Repression is suggested through the legal action taken against Communists;[7] the new regulations of the trade unions by statute; the stricter control of aliens; the birth of societies obviously drawing members from those sympathetic to the Conservative party to agitate and even use force against "bolsheviks" and "pacifists"; and, lately, the break with Russia after a raid upon the Russian trade offices, and the "strong policy" in China, Egypt, and India at various times since the war. The tactics of yielding were best illustrated, perhaps, in the turning over of political power to a Labour government under MacDonald; and in the empire, by the recognition of the Irish Free State, and the new status of the dominions as associated with the mother-country through conferences, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and the King. But the most interesting, and as yet the most important efforts have been in the direction of a conscious reconstruction of civic attitudes through several channels, whereby the system will not be basically destroyed, and possibly only partially transformed. Here it is something of a race with economic factors; can this work be accomplished without a continuance of depression interfering too greatly?

We have noticed in some detail these efforts. The older system was built upon a Britain which drew a larger proportion of leadership and strength and cultural outlook from the countryside. Today there is great effort to stimulate interest in problems of agriculture (as yet without success); to secure a new balance through "garden suburbs," regional planning of potential industrial districts such as Kent, and to develop a program of rural education. But what is more strenuous is the great effort to stimulate emigration to the overseas empire, so that strains at home will be relieved, yet the strength of man power will be not only retained but enhanced by the building up of new communities under the British flag. Nor should we exclude from consideration in this connection the discussion of conscious restriction on births and eugenic policies. Thus the problems of population may receive a new consideration in the effort to meet the alternatives which seem to confront the country.

If climate and natural resources cannot be changed absolutely, at least their relative importance can be affected by invention and organization. Thus we find that here, too, a new exploration is under way. The state now fosters a world-wide search for markets overseas, and for cheaper raw materials. How much oil and rubber are the subjects of modern diplomacy, the world now knows; a huge exhibition at Wembley advertised the markets and resources of the empire as the growing amalgamation in British industry suggests the effort to ration resources and pool experience and research. Streams of reports pour forth from governmental committees on various industries, markets, and the experiences of America and other states; even the trade-union reports upon Russia are as insistent upon the possibilities of British trade revival from markets there as upon lessons in government to be learned from Soviet experience. And not the least important aspect of the criticism of American films is the complaint of merchants that they advertise American goods in the remote corners of British possessions.

These are efforts to affect the basic factors of population and resources; what of the civic codes and attitudes of the people? Here we find, in many party and civic groups, the propaganda of empire and patriotism, of loyalty to the monarchy and the church, conducted with much zeal. What is of greater importance is a new attitude toward the school system. This was, indeed, inevitable. Many British people have prided themselves upon the absence, in their system, of the use of conscious propaganda in teaching; but this is to overlook the fact that the public schools were "courts of honor," training-schools for the governing class, while the parallel system maintained by the education authorities had not yet achieved a position which centered upon it any considerable public interest. But the extension of secondary education has been accompanied lately by great effort to transplant in the new schools the old public-school system of civic training through indirection; and what is more, there are groups that now press upon the central and local authorities for stronger consideration of their particular interests. Thus the League of Nations Union, or a local Labour party, or the Society of St. George, or the League of the British Empire all seek to influence the new generation through the teachings in the school system in a way which would have been unthinkable fifty years ago in the public schools, and the latter, indeed, are now giving attention to problems of training for overseas settlement and receive reports on civic education from a committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. If a Labour majority on an education authority causes the various empire appeals to be removed from the schoolrooms, so, on the other side, the celebration of Empire Day is the more effusively urged by innumerable societies, and films of the World War provided for school children.

The school system is coming of age, and the problems of texts and teaching, hitherto in the background, will undoubtedly come more and more to the front. It is not clear whether the secondary system will be retained as a means of subjecting the more clever boys and girls to a somewhat attenuated public-school program, with other post-primary and elementary schools as channels for draining the mass of children off into industry, or whether a program of varied secondary schools for all will be adopted. In either event, the older public schools (with certain grammar schools) will probably continue to perform their historic functions of training the sons and daughters of the governing classes for their rôles.

As the struggles over religious teaching recede into the past (with the churches secure in their possession of religious instruction), new controversies loom on the horizon.[8] With a new instrument of state education now in existence, although only partially integrated with the older systems, it is natural that some interest should be taken in it as a possible means of consciously inculcating civic ideals. Oakesmith in his *Race and Nationality* writes:

> The nationalizing process is a process of education, whether by the mutual action and interaction of social spheres of interest or by the conscious and deliberate direction of the national mind. This process has hitherto secured large results; but it may be confidently predicted that the forces of nationality, accentuated and harmonized as never before by the shock of war, will be placed upon a more thorough and systematic educational basis, and will thereby be brought to a state of more effective solidarity than has, perhaps, hitherto been conceived possible.

It may be doubted whether the war has really produced a harmony so much as an accentuation of different views of the good citizen within the same state; but it is true that there is now a greater attention to the use of the school system as a means of developing the different types of civic ideals. And having acquired a more comprehensive series of school systems, Britain is now required to determine the kind of citizenship for which they shall prepare.

The older universities of England we have found to be even more limited preserves of the governing classes than the public schools; but the development of provincial university facilities in the last quarter of a century marks again something of a revolution.[9] In time the Scottish standards of higher education, so far as opportunity for students irrespective of economic class is concerned, may be approached. But the new developments have not been unaccompanied by serious problems. Should the newer universities attempt to follow the old in their policies—avoid "vocational" courses, establish residential college systems? Reject any outside aid to avoid interference? On the contrary, they have begun to break down the barriers fixed between education and industry, and have welcomed the aid of business firms, industries, and local education authorities. The residential side is weak; and new classes in the population have been given opportunities for higher education. The contributions of the older universities to civic education have been less direct, and largely social and speculative; while the teaching staffs have quite unconsciously, one feels, further consolidated the cultural outlook of class and nation.[10] What one is uncertain of, is the kind of preparation for the new problems of British civic life the undergraduate will receive in both the older and newer universities. On the whole, it would seem probable that the older universities will retain their traditional policy of civic education through the college social life, the union, and the literary and speculative studies; the newer universities may, through co-operation with such organizations as the Institute of Public Administration and commercial and industrial societies undertake the training of technicians of all kinds; while the provision of chairs such as the Woodrow Wilson Professorship at the University of Wales, the development of the work of the Royal Institute of International Relations, and the continuance of graduate study in foreign states may help in a cross-fertilization of the cultural outlook of university groups. Much may be done here through exchange within the empire, and perhaps some of the young men being exported for teaching posts in the overseas universities may help to bring about something like a cultural revolution if and when they return to posts at home.

That section of British society whose sons have been educated at the public schools and at Oxford and Cambridge, and who have for generations ruled the empire, must now share their power with representatives of other classes. That this entails some losses to the community, as well as gains, is clear. The newer universities do not yet possess the humanistic traditions which have given these older governors much of what is best in their outlook. While courses of study may be broadened and fresh ability recruited from wider areas of the population, the newer product will, for some time at least, be a bit angular and self-conscious. One cannot disrupt so intricate a system without suffering a period of maladjustment. The young men and women who are among the first to make their way, by the opening of the new channels, into positions and opportunities hitherto restricted to the older governing society are often, one notes, more strident and assured in their national outlook than they would be, perhaps, in a more fluid society where status is less noticed. The ascent into the higher regions is at first a bit intoxicating. It is interesting, indeed, that a few older labor leaders with some acquaintance with governing society have given their sons the opportunities of an Oxford or Cambridge education. This tribute will repay thought for all its implications.

The control which conservative groups in the governing class have possessed in the university system in the past has guaranteed these institutions from any considerable state regulation; it is, therefore, the more interesting to find in adult education a sharp controversy over control and objectives being waged. Here the present challenges in economic and political policy are reflected in the efforts of Conservatives, Liberals, moderate Labourites, and Communists to extend their influence through adult educational centers; similarly the internationalists in the League of Nations Union and the National Adult School Union are arrayed against the nationalists of the Primrose League, the National Citizen's Union, or the Junior Imperial League. Perhaps the conflict in adult education is seen at its sharpest within the labor movement. Should there be a definitely class bias to the education of adult workers, or should it be integrated with that of the universities, conducted by university teachers, and free from any domination by a particular school?

This issue is inevitably an outgrowth of the larger movements of thought and activity in industry and politics. It is important since it throws some additional light upon the temper and attitude which the leaders of the labor movement bring to the new opportunities of entering the governing class. Friends of the movement have expressed some fears lest it may abuse its powers in local and central government, on the one hand, and lest inadequate opportunity and a limited educational background circumscribe its foreign policy. These dangers are enhanced by the possibility of a split between the moderate and the extremist wings. A member of the movement, Mrs. Sidney Webb, has lately stated in a letter to her husband's constituency:[11]

> The Russian Revolution, and especially the propaganda of it in Great Britain, has been the greatest disaster in the history of the British Labour movement. Just as the French Revolution in 1789–93 kept back the advent of political democracy in England for a couple of generations, so the Russian Revolution of 1917 may, if we are not careful, prove to keep back the advent of economic democracy in England for a half century. If we go on with our Communist party, "minority move-

ment," and such like, vainly preaching revolution and the "dictatorship of the proletariat" on the one hand, whilst on the other, successive Conservative Governments destroy British Parliamentary institutions, limit local government, and suppress trade unionism, the mass of the wage-earners in this country will sink into poverty, diversified with angry strikes put down by force of arms, and futile sputterings of civil war which might well end in a succession of military dictatorships. Thus, panic among the property owners, and revolutionary talk on the part of workers, will undermine the health and happiness of the whole community and reduce us all to misery. Against this terrible fate, a sane and powerful Labour party is our only bulwark.

The many societies—trade union, party, co-operative, religious, educational, and recreational—through which the working-class leaders have participated in the government of Britain have served as preliminary training centers in the past for admission into the higher controls of political life. The influences which they have exerted may continue; but it is threatening to note the clash of attitudes in education, in the industrial labor movement, and the apparent steady withdrawal of the formerly powerful contributions of the churches. The younger leaders in the movement are not so frequently lay preachers, for example, as were their fathers; and new opportunities have been created besides the chapel for social expression. This moderating influence will perhaps be lost or seriously weakened; while at the same time, serious disagreements (that of the Anglo-Catholics and the Evangelicals, for example) may weaken the churches at a time when a stronger effort is necessary if their former position and power is to be retained.

These challenges to the older British system have led the powerful groups to question their security; and insecurity naturally breeds intolerance. It is possible that an effort will be made to erect hastily bulwarks against a possible increase of power by the labor movement. The opportunity, it is argued, may be lost otherwise. This is the significance of the conflict over the position and powers of the House of Lords, of legislation regulating the trade unions, and the organization of basic industries. It is in this light also that the complaints concerning a decline of toleration of opinion must be interpreted.

An English journalist, S. K. Ratcliffe, has written:

> The British worker, speaking generally, accepts the class system. He may resent its inequalities and glaring injustices, but hitherto he has not seriously challenged its right or necessity. He has no feeling

hostile to the monarchy. He thinks of the king and queen as an institution that he has no need to worry about. They do not rule; they have no power to tax, while a popular prince or princess makes pretty copy for the Sunday papers. . . . . It is doubtful whether the coming of the first Labour Government made any difference worth mentioning in the mental outlook of the class which put Ramsay MacDonald into office, although it would be as well to recognize that the creation of a second, and stronger, Labour Cabinet will mean a great enlargement of equalitarian sentiment. Foreign observers too frequently make the assumption that the British working people have been content to muddle along from age to age, discontentedly resigned to allowing the more fortunate classes to confer favors upon them and to conduct their public business. In the villages that has been and still is largely true; it would be a great mistake to suppose that it is true of the industrial workers and especially of organized labor.

Yet it seems clear that the labor movement has been more concerned with political and industrial democracy than with social democracy. The part occupied in the movement by persons recruited from the older governing classes, the respect paid to custom, class status, and vested institutions such as monarchy and the churches are combined with the influence that comes from the opening up of careers in the movement itself to the humble. This includes, too, the extensive organizations of the co-operative societies and the benefit societies as well as the party and the union. This reluctance to follow a wider and deeper social criticism is exemplified by the contrast between the British labor leaders and their intellectualist allies (who naturally occupy the more important a position since their social status is a factor) and corresponding groups in the dominions or in the United States. As Ratcliffe remarks, "The American worker's cool recognition that every kind of success, every form of advancement, may be open to him, has had no place in the British worker's consciousness." It follows that the enormous amount of stimulation offered through the press and the cinema, through the churches and education, through civic rituals and formalities of class and caste feeling, finds fertile soil in a mass of people who have as yet not begun to question in great numbers the general social scheme apart from specific economic and political situations. It is true that there are some who do raise a bitter protest at this situation, which sometimes takes the form of "scenes" in the House of Commons, attacks upon the social aspirations of some labor leaders, or even sharp comments upon royalty.

A distinguished British philosopher, A. N. Whitehead, writes in his *Symbolism:*

> No elaborate community of elaborate organisms could exist unless its systems of symbolisms were in general successful. Codes, rules of behaviour, canons of art are attempts to impose systematic action which on the whole will promote favourable symbolic interconnections. As a community changes, all such rules and canons require revision in the light of reason. The object to be obtained has two aspects; one is the subordination of the community to the individuals composing it, and the other is the subordination of the individuals to the community. Free men obey the rules which they themselves have made. Such rules will be found in general to impose on society behaviour in reference to a symbolism which is taken to refer to the ultimate purposes for which society exists.
>
> It is the first step in sociological wisdom, to recognize that the major advances in civilization are processes which all but wreck the societies in which they occur:—like unto an arrow in the hand of a child. The art of free society consists first, in the maintenance of the symbolic code; and secondly, in fearlessness of revision, to secure that the code serves those purposes which satisfy an enlightened reason. Those societies which cannot combine reverence to their symbols with freedom of revision, must ultimately decay either from anarchy, or from slow atrophy of a life stifled by useless shadows.

We have seen how persistently in the fields of politics and economic life many movements in Britain have pressed with much success for such revisions; yet most observers seem to agree that not only are adequate new symbols which might call for an extension of these views into the whole social structure wanting among masses of people, but the old symbols, discussed in these pages at so much length, are peculiarly influential. Through these latter, indeed, the movements for political and industrial change have been regulated and quieted, so that the older system has gradually absorbed the new claimants for power and granted partial success; while the absence of wide popular demand for a new social symbolism and code would seem to leave the possibility for a general upheaval and cataclysm dependent, as already noted, upon world-economic factors or the mistakes of those trusted with political and industrial leadership.

In the inner civic life of the nation we see systems in transition; a groping for new adjustments adequate to the new challenges. Similarly we have found new aspects of external civic attitude and policy. The complexities of European politics, the disturbing of world-economy, the rise of new nations within the empire, the entrance of Japan and the United States into world-politics, and the existence of Soviet Russia and Fascist Italy are some of the situations of which Britain must take account. We have seen that solid economic interest has been a basis for her equipment of a genuinely international outlook on many questions. This is true of her merchants, financiers, shippers; it has been true also of her labor movement. She has possessed a number of societies sincerely devoted to the cause of peace for moral reasons as well as economic. And the costs of the World War in men and goods have stimulated the peace movements—the No More War Movement, the Peace Letter, the Union for Democratic Control, the Fellowship of Reconciliation—although the membership of these remains pretty much confined to the crusading section of the Labour party. Nevertheless, the great mass of her people must receive their view of world-affairs through a press which is no more and no less "nationalistic" than that of other modern powers; one, at least, of her great parties, through its network of societies for men, women, and youths is constantly preaching imperialism and the traditional precepts of British policy; and while her great efforts have been made in recent European diplomacy for the restoration of peace and the demobilization of war hatreds, there is some misgiving within the nation over the means which have been taken.[12] It is not beside the point, also, to suggest that where the British have had to deal with well-established cultures, quite apart from economic questions, the strains of understanding have been severe. One may cite in illustration of this fact the relations of the British with the Irish, the French Canadians, the Egyptians, the Boers, the peoples of India, and the Chinese. The very homogeneity of her population at home, perhaps, has made it the more difficult to recognize sympathetically the different values and systems of other peoples. Thus, the French are lectured for placing an embargo on British coal, although Continental criticism at British coal prices shortly after the war, when French mines were still incapable of production, is forgotten; Egyptian Nationalist refusal to view British control over the Egyptian army as compatible with Egyptian independence, is met with a "firm policy"; the failure of America to coincide with British policy in China is due to American ignorance of the true state of affairs in that country and "Red propaganda." These attitudes are due not to economic interest or insincerity, but to a kind of cultural astigmatism, exhibited, indeed, perhaps more frequently in an organ of moderate Labour views like the *New Statesman* than in an independent Conservative journal such as the *Observer*. It is the more significant that this situation is recognized by a group of her teachers and publicists, and that a conscious effort is being made to give a wider connotation to history-teaching.

In his Preface to the Letters of Henry James, the editor, Percy Lubbock, remarks of the novelist that "With much that is common ground among educated people of our time and place he was never really in touch. One has only to think of the part played, in the England he frequented, by school and college, by country homes, by church and politics and professions, to understand how much of the ordinary consciousness was closed to him." It is this product of a citizenship "freely initiated" which is all the more powerful despite its elusiveness. I remember an evening of early autumn when we had boarded a bus at Victoria station, to find the only other occupants on top were a workingman and his small son. They had been down in Kent for the day, he told us, visiting his brother, who had given them the armful of magnificent gladioli with which he was so pleased. As we left the canyon of Victoria Street, he questioned his little son concerning the great buildings which loomed about us in the mist—the Abbey, the Houses of Parliament, and as we crossed the silent river and saw the lights of the Embankments and buildings and boats, the County Hall, and he explained to his son what they were, and pointed out a post-office building in which he had once been employed. His brother, he added to us, received several shillings a week less than he, down in the country; but he was probably better off, at that, with the open country about him, and his garden, and all. What influence the buildings of an old city, or the lovely countryside of Kent, or the affectionate concern of the workingman father, would have upon the sense of citizenship of that little boy, I do not know. But I am sure they will be profound and persistent.

NOTES

1. Havelock Ellis, *A Study of British Genius* (new ed.; Boston, 1926), p. 79.
2. A. E. Zimmern, *Nationality and Government*, essay on "Reconstruction" (1916).
3. Colonel J. F. C. Fuller, D.S.O., "The English Spirit," published in the *National Review* (October, 1926).

4. J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Rise of Modern Industry* (London, 1925), pp. 251–53.

5. Esme Wingfield-Stratford, *History of British Patriotism*, II, 592.

6. Note the recent (1929) rejection by employers' organizations of the Melchett proposals.

7. Note the speech of Sir William Joynson-Hicks on "Communism" in the *Times* of July 1, 1927. His position as Home Secretary makes his attack upon the expression of Communist opinion the more significant.

8. In the *Times* of July 8, 1927, there appeared a letter on "The League and the Schools" from J. L. Morison of Armstrong College, Newcastle, in which the activity of the League of Nations Union in the schools is criticized on the ground that it results in a distortion of history; criticisms of this kind are becoming more frequent and characterstic of a growing interest in the attitudes toward civic questions inculcated in the school system.

9. In the *Saturday Review* of June 25, 1927, the "Letter from Oxford" relates the recent vote to limit the number of women there to various efforts of Conservatives to consolidate their position generally before the deluge. An article which follows it in this issue on "The New Universities" discusses acutely the problem of control with the extension of grants by industry for research.

10. While there are university teachers who are members of the Labour Party, they are as a general rule characterized by a strongly national cultural outlook. Indeed, it seems sometimes as if this supplies a compensation for their political heterodoxy.

11. Reported in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (July 8, 1927), p. 8.

12. The *Times* of July 5, 1927, contains a letter from the Navy League concerning the Geneva Disarmament Conference in which it is stated that in no event can Britain relinquish the kind of naval control which she was able to exercise in the World War, while America really possesses no genuine needs at all comparable.

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